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LETTERS

Sir:

Here's some microtrivia that may be of use to someone: the people sitting in the second row in the picture of the WNAX "Dinner Bell Roundup" cast on p. 110 of *JEMFQ* #43 spent some time in Maine. Jimmy and Dick (The Novelty Boys) and their troupe summered in the Bangor area 1939-42 and again in the late '40s (I believe). Jimmie Pierson and Dick Klasi were the core of the group. Jimmie's brother "Flash Willie" (mentioned in Bernard Hagerty's article on Radio Station WNAX [*JEMFQ* #40, p. 181]) played fiddle. Cora Dean ("the Kansas City Kitty") was the Pierson brothers' sister and married to Dick. Jimmie was married (or otherwise attached) to a lady named Dot. They were enormously popular--everyone remembers them. My memory is hazy, but one of the women died, her husband had some kind of breakdown and the group broke up. Dick Klasi was reportedly from North Dakota and went back out west after this tragedy. All this tallies, more or less, with what Mr. Hagerty has to say in his article on WNAX in *JEMFQ* #40.

Full information on Jimmie and Dick in Maine should be available from Sandy Ives of the University of Maine Anthro. Dept. He conducted a class on country music in the Bangor area some years back. As I recall, most of the material on Jimmie and Dick was contained in interviews with Ray and Ann Little of Milbridge, Maine...

--Lisa Feldman
Orono, Maine

Sir:

I regret the delay in answering your request for information regarding my ownership of NYRL (Paramount, etc.). Although it may be too late now, I am sending it for your possible future reference.

As you know Paramount was a label of the New York Recording Laboratories, and NYRL was an outgrowth of the manufacture of phonograph furniture by the Wisconsin Chair Company. NYRL had separate investors but it was a subsidiary of Wis. Chair. Wis. Chair was registered on 15 October 1888 in Sheboygan, Wisconsin by F.A., C.E. and Albert Dennett. The Articles of Association listed their office and factory as located at Port Washington, Wisconsin.

The company was possibly persuaded to enter the record business by Satherley, who was also said to

have had previous experience in the phonograph record business and possibly had an interest in a NYRL in NYC. At any rate there is the repeated second-hand story that Satherley recorded some NYRL material in a similarly named studio in NYC.

The first record was pressed in Grafton (their only pressing plant, a few miles from their furniture factory in Port Washington) on 29 June 1917.

In a building across from the pressing plant a recording facility (electrical) was started in about the end of 1927. Marsh Studios in Chicago, a New York recording studio, Gennett Studios in Richmond and other recording facilities continued to be used.

The pressing of phonograph records was suspended in about January 1930. However, the presses at Grafton were continued in use for "house" labels such as Silvertone and also for 12" radio transcription discs, some recorded at the WCFL studios in Chicago. In about 1932 the recording and pressing activities were discontinued. A record stock of probably several million pressings was purchased by Supper & Boerner, former employees of NYRL, who had set up an independent mail order business and who continued to advertise and sell by mail order into the 1940s. In their later years they did not advertise Paramounts because of dwindling numbers of each item; but they did offer overruns and distress stocks of Vocalions, Bluebirds and other race labels. Their principal sales had become dream books and magic potions.

From about late 1944, when I was a licensee for the use of Paramount records, to the date of my purchase in December 1949, I acted as an agent in replying to inquiries concerning the musical interests of the Wisconsin Chair Company. Seven licensees were supplied with materials or rights to use properties of the NYRL division. The Wisconsin Chair Company had discontinued furniture manufacturing during the Depression, but they continued under President Otto Moeser and Secretary Allen Cady to rent parts of their factories and sell off inventory and otherwise dissolve the business. When the final divestiture of all property except real estate became imminent, I bought their "musical

interests" comprising the rights to records, heaps of metals, test pressings, records, copyrights (as Chicago Music Company), trade marks, business records and even label paper. I took very little of the recording equipment, allowing most of it to be sold as scrap.

For a time thereafter I continued the business from a post office box in Port Washington and gradually moved the center of activities to Chicago where I was more frequently employed. I recorded NYRL as doing business in Chicago by Certificate 65975, 30 October 1948 anticipating my purchase which, as you see, came later.

On 1 February 1974 I transferred NYRL (together with all other of my musical properties) to George H. Buck (operating GHB and Jazzology labels) presently located at 3008 Wadsworth Mill Place, Decatur, GA 30032.

I shall be pleased to answer any other questions I can.

--John Steiner
Milwaukee, Wisc.

Sir:

In regard to the notes to "Oh, Those Tombs" in the brochure notes to JEMF-104: *Presenting the Blue Sky Boys*, the following information may be of interest. My copy of "Oh Those Tombs" is found in R. E. Winsett's collection, *All for Jesus* (Dayton, Tennessee, 1948). The copyright date on the song itself is 1918, and the author is listed as William M. Golden, about whom I know little. The headnote by Golden reads: "Composed after a walk through the city of the dead." Obviously the Bolicks didn't get their version from the Winsett songster, but I would guess the tune had been picked up and reprinted repeatedly through the years, starting about 1918. The text of the Winsett version is almost identical to that of the Bolicks: fine memories, indeed.

--Charles Wolfe
Middle Tenn. State Univ.
Murfreesboro, Tenn.

Sir:

I greatly enjoyed the article on Elsie McWilliams in the Summer 1977 *JEMF Quarterly* which was beautifully photographed and so well written by our author friend Johnny Bond. Those great compositions she wrote or co-wrote...will live on for many hundreds of years, long after the rest of us have reached Hillbilly Heaven. Jimmie Rodgers was truly the first great Star in Country music, and with his voice, his guitar, his yodels he paved the way for Gene Autry, Bob Wills, Jack Guthrie, T. Texas Tyler, Eddy Arnold, Hank Williams, Lefty Frizzell, Jim Reeves, Johnny Bond, Jimmie Wakely, etc. Jimmie's wife Carrie was a wonderful lady, and I have an 8 x 10 autographed photo she sent me as a Christmas present in 1952. It is most remarkable how Jimmie Rodgers songs have stood the test of time for 50 years, and today they are just as fresh and new as when he first recorded "Soldier's

Sweetheart" and "Sleep Baby Sleep" on August 4, 1927.

--Phillip Fortune
Pawhuska, Okla.

Sir:

After reading Simon J. Bronner's article on Woodhull's Old Tyme Masters *JEMFQ* #42, p. 54, in the discography he speaks of a possible RCA Camden LP, I have been looking for a verification of such a record in your following issues. However, it has not occurred.

Therefore, I would like to inform you and readers of *JEMFQ* that such a record obviously exists. From an auction I have purchased a RCA Camden LP CAL 220, titled *Square Dances: Woodhull's Old Tyme Masters*, Calls by Floyd C. Woodhull.

Side 1 includes:

Oh Susanna 4/4 tempo (Stephen C. Foster)
Pop Goes the Weasel 6/8 tempo
Captain Jinks 6/8 Tempo
The Wearin' of the Green 4/4 tempo
The Girl Behind Me 4/4 tempo

E4DP-6238

Side 2 includes:

Blackberry Quadrille 6/8 tempo
Soldier's Joy 4/4 tempo
The Irish Washerwoman (traditional)
Pony Boy (Charley O'Donnell)
Bloom on the Sage (traditional)
Ann Green (traditional)

E4DP-6239

This should be all but two of their 1949 recordings. The LP is made in Canada; it also has a small printed number CAM-322D, the meaning of that I do not know.

--Urban Henriksson
Lidkoping, Sweden

Sir:

I was surprised by William Koon's review of *Stars of Country Music* *JEMFQ* #47, p. 151, which I had thought was a good book for fairly "serious readers." While I find his complaints interesting, I feel that he is imposing harsher standards on the young discipline of country music scholarship than have been imposed, with any success, on most of the old disciplines. Factual errors are deplored in all disciplines, but hardly any of those were charged.

I don't believe people in other disciplines are required to come up with book titles which are logically unimpeachable. I know the field of literature is full of books about "Masters" of this, and "Titans" of that, and "Landmarks" of the other, and that there is little quibbling about it. I see nothing wrong with the intent of a book that might have been called *Some More or Less Important Performers in Those Areas Which Have Been Called Country Music*, and I certainly

don't wish the book had been called that. The most comparable older disciplines have had little success in establishing orders of importance. People research what they find interesting and are not deterred by the fear of pronouncements (except from undergraduate students) that what they thought was interesting really wasn't. In the most comparable of the older disciplines, comparative judgments have had to be revised and revised. Consider, in the field of literature, the importance once assigned Blake or Donne.

In the broader discipline of music history, *in toto* rankings of "hillbillies" as below popular and "serious" musicians have been revised, thanks be. It is reasonable to think that something similar can happen within the narrower discipline of country music scholarship. I hope that somebody will interview the "Mediocre Brothers" before they die and not wait until their importance is generally conceded. That would be too similar to the mistake general music history once made, much to our loss.

As to what the researcher of the "Mediocre Brothers" should say about them and how many times he should say it, I don't think we should be too dogmatic about that either. It might be a long time before what he said about them got to be "old tired facts" to people whose attention is engrossed by Dolly Parton. It was not many years ago that many folklorists felt there was *nothing* about commercially recorded folk music worth saying. If anyone really knows yet exactly what is worth saying and what isn't, the progress of country music scholarship calls for astonishment, not for Prof. Koon's disappointment.

--Gene Wiggins
North Georgia College
Dahlonega, Ga.

Sir:

I would like to comment on the review of 'Stars of Country Music' in JEMFQ. As a long time country music fan (over 40 years), I have watched the recent increase in interest, respectability and scholarship with great pleasure. And, among the many people who have contributed to this increase, I would have to include the author of this review.

I have read and reread the book 'Stars of Country Music' (the book has been out for some time as I bought my copy in a bookstore over a year ago!), and I must agree with many of the comments, and even with the main theme of the review. I also realize that even critics have personal likes and dislikes that may intrude upon their reviews. But conceding all of this, I still must take exception to several of Mr. Koon's statements in the review.

I am referring to the gratuitous statements regarding Vernon Dalhart. Dalhart may be 'not interesting' to Mr. Koon, but to me and many others, he is one of the most interesting but least discussed pioneers in country music. Even if 'sales of country music records' did not approach the totals mentioned in stories about Dalhart, his

sales still exceeded any other country artist of his day, if only because of the number of sides released under his various names. I have several hundred releases by Vernon Dalhart, on records and tapes, and they follow the pattern of releases by any current artist. A few of the releases are great, some are good, some are bad and a few are terrible. I personally believe Dalhart's contribution to country music has never been fully appreciated, or even accepted, by many people in the field. And Mr. Koon's comments only tend to reinforce this condition. I look forward to the day when Vernon Dalhart's name is included with Jimmie Rodgers, The Carter Family and others as a true pioneer of country music.

--Jack L. Palmer
Battle Creek, Mich.

The Reviewer replies:

I must stand by my original appraisal of the book; as I noted, it is very good, fair, and not so good, depending upon which selection one reads. However, a matter of importance has arisen; one of the editors has requested that I apologize to one of the writers for having called the writer a "racist." In fact, I did not. What I wished to show was the naivete of the writer in recent black-white interpersonal relationships. I am sorry if any other reader misinterpreted my criticisms, for such was not its intent.

Likewise, I would like to apologize to Mr. Palmer concerning my disparaging remarks about Vernon Dalhart; I merely wished to show that we have spent a great many trees upon that lyric tenor in our own quarterly. I am rather shocked by Professor Wiggins' response and I personally shudder at his analogies; I for one have never found the mysticism of Blake in Johnny Rodriguez nor the witty and brilliant conceits of Donne in Johnny Cash. And, as an academic, Professor Wiggins must be aware that Blake is the most over-studied writer in the language, a situation I would not wish to visit upon any "star of country music." I should note that the fine young writer Jonathan Cott's name was incorrectly spelled in the review.

--William Henry Koon

Sir:

Please inform JEMFQ readers and fans of the Sons of the Pioneers that a new publication called "Pioneer News" will have its first issue in April 1978.

The fan-supported publication will contain current news, reviews, personal data, historical features, letters, collectors' exchange, etc.

Those interested may write to:

W. G. Bowen
P. O. Box 2371
North Hollywood, Ca. 91602

"I'VE GOT SO MANY MILLION YEARS": THE STORY OF STUART HAMBLLEN

By Ken Griffis

Most of us have heard the old saw about the town that was so small that "Entering" and "Leaving" signs were on the same post. It would appear Kelleysville, Texas, birthplace of Carl Stuart Hamblen, may not have been even that large. So far I have been unable to locate it on a map. Born 20 October 1908, son of an itinerant Texas Methodist preacher, Stuart spent his youth moving with his family from one small Texas town to another. Reverend James Henry (J. H.) Hamblen, the son of a Civil War veteran, was a determined single-minded clergyman so typical of those God-chosen men who sacrificed health and happiness in an effort to help their fellow-men find these same elusive human needs. Unfortunately, all too often members of their immediate family found this zeal of little personal comfort. Henry met and married Ernestine Williams while attending a church sponsored school for aspiring preachers. She very willingly agreed to share the hardships that were a part of this vocation, and, while Henry preached, Ernestine took in washings and boarders to help support the family. Born of this union were Lola Mae, Oberia Matilda, Alvin Kelley, Carl Stuart, James Estel and John Henry.

As a baby, Stuart was in ill health, a condition thought to have been brought on by the permeating dampness of the area. At the suggestion of Ernestine's parents, Stuart spent the next year and a half with his grandparents, where he was fed a steady diet of bananas, sweet potatoes, and buttermilk. He recalls that for years afterward he couldn't stand the sight of a banana. Stuart returned with improved health in time to join his family in moves to Tuxedo, Knox City, Hamlin, Crowell, Stamford, and finally to Clarendon for a period of time where he was able to graduate from high school and attend Lubbock Tech, which had just opened. Later he joined the family in a move to Abilene, where he graduated, having prepared himself to be a teacher.

He was never to be a teacher. His profession had been developing for many years without Stuart's knowledge. As a young lad, and on through his teens, Stuart had worked many hours in the countless cottonfields of North-Central Texas. It was a backbreaking occupation, but one that allowed the children to contribute to the support of the family. Stuart vividly recalls his long hours in the cottonfields, working alongside the blacks who were also eking out a living wage. He recalls one who could see that young Stuart just

wasn't strong and fast enough to keep up with the rest. This kindly man would help by picking extra cotton and leaving it alongside the row for Stuart to stuff in his big cotton sack, allowing him to catch up with the others from time to time. But the blacks were sharing more than kindness; they were sharing their love for music, and it was this music that was shaping his destiny. This influence undoubtedly allowed Stuart to project a deep, human feeling in so many of his songs:

"Pappy's gone away, but he's got a new
banjo;
Just a rockin' and a plinkin' in his
golden chair;
Got a new mule, a good mule, and Pappy
works in a garden;
And plows with a golden plowshare."¹

Summers, during his high school and college years, Stuart spent time working on the various ranches in the area of Clarendon, breaking horses and doing general ranch work. Listening to the cowboys sing traditional songs cemented his desire to pursue a musical career. In about 1925, Stuart appeared on radio, both in Dallas and Ft. Worth, calling himself "Cowboy Joe." Two of his most requested songs were "The Lavender Cowboy" and "The All-Go-Hungry Hashhouse Where I Dine." The spark that ignited his career in earnest occurred later in Dallas, where he picked up a \$100 first prize as winner of an amateur contest. His presentation of the heart-rending "Johnstown Flood," with an unexpected yodel at the end of each verse must have been a thing of beauty. Singing and yodeling of bodies floating down the river must surely have rivaled anything previously heard by those Texas farmers.

Deciding that the world had been denied his talent all too long, Stuart purchased an old Model-T Ford with part of his winnings, and throwing his old guitar and his dog, Shep, in the back seat, he headed for the Victor Talking Machine Company in Camden, New Jersey. Arriving unannounced, Stuart informed the receptionist that he, Stuart Hamblen, would favor Victor with his talent if they would hop-to and set up a recording session. He recalls that Mr. Peer and Mr. Shields listened as he sang one selection and then suggested that he come back "next week." Assuming that to be a firm offer, and

having no place to live, Stuart and Shep set up shop in the reception room, where he informed all comers of his selection as the newest Victor recording star. As days went by and no opportunity to record was presented, Stuart began to press the receptionist for an answer. Her suggestion was that he come back when they "weren't so busy." But feeling he couldn't renege on his "contract," Stuart and Shep continued their vigil, and as they waited, both he and Shep ran short of patience. Shep began to make life unpleasant for the many visitors to the recording studios, nipping at anyone who came too close. The decisive event occurred as Shep began shaking off the effects of a soaking on a particularly rainy day in Camden. As he began to dry out, the aroma apparently drifted to the far reaches of the studio. After a few distressing looks, the receptionist disappeared and returned with Mr. Shields in tow. Mr. Shields pointedly announced that today was the day for Stuart's recording session. With accompaniment provided by his own guitar, six sides were cut--all, take one! Two hours later he was through, had signed a release on his material, and had been given a check for six hundred dollars. He hugged Shep and shouted, "I did it, Shep!" But the thrill of the moment dimmed as the receptionist retorted, "What do you mean, you did it? Give all the credit to your dog."

Returning in triumph to Texas, Stuart was now firmly committed to a career in radio. Sensing that the greatest opportunity awaited him in Hollywood, it was California here we come. Confidently feeling his "solid" musical background would benefit only the largest of radio stations, he presented himself at KFI as "Cowboy Joe" from Abilene. He was auditioned by program director Harry Hall. Hall listened as Stuart, bedecked in his cowboy pants, boots, bright red shirt, and yellow celluloid collar, repeated his award winning performance, the "Johnstown Flood." In the middle of the song, Hall requested Stuart wait for a moment while he summoned another station executive, Don Wilson (later of Jack Benny fame), to listen to Stuart's performance. Stuart recalls he sang and yodeled his heart out, but for some unexpected reason his sad song was having just the reverse effect on Hall and Wilson. With tears streaming down their faces, they informed a ruffled Stuart that his was the funniest performance they had ever heard. Not knowing whether to cry or hit them a good lick, Stuart headed out of the studio.

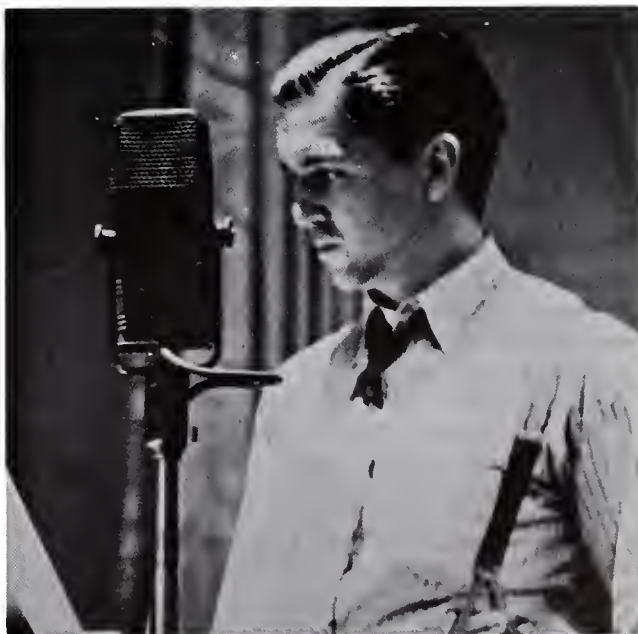
After a short discussion, they were able to placate Stuart and offer him a spot on the KFI Saturday Night Jamboree. His hurt feelings, soothed for a few moments, were stirred up again when Don Wilson told a departing Stuart "Be sure to wear that same costume."

Stuart's big break on the West Coast took place in early 1930 when he was presented with the opportunity to join a budding country group, the Beverly Hillbillies. Unquestionably the Hillbillies were the number one entertainers in Southern California for several years. A product of the fertile mind of radio executive

Glen Rice, fans by the thousands accepted at face value the story of a bunch of hillbillies who had been discovered in the hills of Beverly, and who were persuaded to come down each day to perform. While that is a bit difficult to understand today, there is no question that they were great attractions. At one time, a crowd estimated at ten thousand gathered in front of Radio KMPC to see the Hillbillies perform. Stuart adopted the name Dave Donner, supposedly a member of the tragic Donner family. Other members of the group were Cyprian Paulette, Jad Dees, Aleth Hansen, Hank Blaeholder, Leo Mannus and Marjorie Bauersfeld.

Just when it appeared his musical fortunes were secure, Stuart was forced to take a leave of absence due to a serious illness. His physical well-being did not improve when he was informed he no longer had a job with the Hillbillies. Without question, this was the low point in his early career and he still recalls that period in his life. When he left Texas for California, his father had informed him he was making a serious mistake. Now he couldn't go back home and admit that he was a failure. Still very weak from his illness, with no money, no job, Stuart started walking--to nowhere in particular. Feeling faint, he walked into the lobby of a hotel where he passed out in a chair. Fortunately for Stuart he was befriended by the owner who allowed him to stay until he was strong enough to find other lodging.

In late 1930, Stuart found employment on Radio KMIC in Inglewood. Perhaps it is a bit generous to state he found "employment," as he was given lunch money in return for the five-hour, daily appearances. With his latent talent put to the test, it wasn't long before



Stuart Hamblen, 1937

he gathered together a small band of performers, including a young Patsy Montana. Those who are acquainted with Stuart are not surprised that he formed his own organization instead of becoming part of another group. The unpleasant encounter with the Hillbillies was the push that Stuart needed. Without question, he had all the necessary attributes that are a part of every successful individual. Stuart, a strapping six-foot-three, ruggedly handsome, was a dynamic personality, with a God-given talent to talk with ease on any subject, regardless of his knowledge of same, and give a most convincing dissertation for a solid hour. Fortunately for his listeners, he would pick subjects of personal experiences and weave exciting stories that would cast a spell. This is the fellow who sold ice to the man who sold ice to the Eskimos. It was during this time on KMIC and later on KMTR, that Stuart began to turn out the beautiful music that was to be his springboard to a successful career in radio and television. He recalls that he had always wanted to write music. Fortunately, he paused long enough in this hectic period in his career to pen such songs as "My Mary," "Texas Plains," "My Dreambook of Memories," "Golden River," "My Brown-Eyed Texas Rose," and "Little Ol' Rag Doll." Stuart seemed to be revealing his love for home and family, and his loneliness, when he wrote:

"Each night in my dreams, somehow it seems,
That I'm back where I belong;
A country hick way back in the sticks,
Back where I was born.
Oh, these city lights, and the city ways,
Are driving me insane;
Oh, take me back, Oh, I want to go back,
Back to my Texas Plains."²

Without question the most decisive event in Stuart's career occurred in 1933, when he met and married the petite and charming Suzy Daniels. It would appear that Suzy may have married Stuart out of desperation, as it soon became obvious that her old boyfriends rapidly lost interest in her after Stuart appeared on the scene. What she didn't realize at the time was that Stuart made a personal call on each of her suitors, informing them that further attention to Suzy could prove hazardous to their health. They were convinced. Fortunately, Suzy never regretted her decision to marry Stuart and she proved to be the stability, strength and sense of direction that he so badly needed. In turn, Stuart showered Suzy with an impressive measure of beautiful love songs.

"And through all kinds of weather,
You'll find I never change;
Through sunshine and through shadows,
I'll always be the same.
We're together right or wrong,
Where you go I'll tag along;
Remember me, I'm the one who loves you."³

In the summer of 1932, Stuart moved his program to Radio KMTR, now Radio KLAC, in Hollywood. It soon became apparent that his radio programs, and especially his own music, were hitting a

responsive chord with a large segment of the listening audience of Southern California. Feeling secure in his talents, he approached a local clothier, Sam Hoffman of the Star Outfitting Company, informing him in a most persuasive manner that should Hoffman choose to sponsor his program, he could anticipate a sizeable gain in sales. With a handshake, a most successful association began that was to last for twenty-one years. On KMTR, Stuart had two daily programs, the "Covered Wagon Jubilee," from 7:00 to 9:00 a.m., and his "Lucky Stars," from 5:00 to 6:00 p.m. He also appeared on Station KNX as "King Cowboy and His Wooley West Review," sponsored by O. M. Herb Tablets. It is correct to state that from 1934 to 1950, Stuart's programs had the largest listening audience of any country-western group in Southern California. In short order he took over the limelight from the Beverly Hillbillies, which gave him a measure of satisfaction, and he shared a portion with another emerging group, the Sons of the Pioneers. In 1938, as a result of his increasing popularity, Stuart moved his organization to a larger station in Hollywood, KFWB.

In addition to his music and his personality, the selection of competent musicians contributed to the success of his radio programs. The earliest group included the fine fiddler, Norman Hedges; accordionist-fiddler Vince Engle; banjo playing, funnyman Cliff (Herman the Hermit) Snyder; guitar-vocalist Hubert Flatt; Skeeter Hubbard, guitar; and Frank Lidell at the piano. Joining a little later were Cliffie Stone (Snyder), bass; Cyprian Paulette, vocalist; Len Dossey, fiddle; Bob Hatfield, guitar; Sonny Dawson, vocal/guitar; Shug Fisher, bass/comedy; and Darol Rice, musical director, who could play most instruments. Another of the earliest members was the very talented Wesley Tuttle, who joined in 1933 as a teenager. Wesley recalls that few of the programs were rehearsed. It was "let's wait and see what the boss wants to do." The musicians seldom knew who or what was going to be featured on the program; Stuart was the boss and no one questioned that. Tuttle, who expresses great admiration for Stuart, states that the programs, zany as they were at the time, were a lot of fun, and he truly enjoyed his years with the Hamblen organization.

I had the pleasure of attending several of the programs in the early forties, and it is my recollection that it was the relaxed atmosphere and variety of personalities that were most enjoyable. One vivid recollection is of Stuart's impressive ability to do recitations such as "The Face on the Barroom Floor" and "The Shooting of Dan McGrew," with such feeling that he would hold the audience spellbound. Fortunately, this talent is preserved on a few of his recordings, and can be heard on the Columbia album *The Spell of the Yukon* and the Coral album *Remember Me*.

Only a book could cover the many funny and

off-color antics that took place during these early radio days. One such event occurred when one of Stuart's old cronies dropped by the station, and in a fine impersonation of Franklin Roosevelt indicated he just had to stop by to say hello to his old friend, Stuart. Within minutes the station was flooded with calls and people wishing to see the "president." He became involved again when a friend, who felt he had been wronged by a tuba player, decided to get even. He told every tuba player in the area that they were needed for a big parade being planned for downtown Los Angeles. To aid the cause, Stuart announced on the air that a few calliopes were also needed and suggested any interested individuals be there, with a full head of steam, sounding off and ready to go. Apparently it was a successful gathering, as it was reported tuba players were observed getting off every passing streetcar.

Prior to World War II, Stuart began a successful appearance at a local dance hall every weekend, where, as Stuart recalls, the dance started at 8:00 p.m., the fights at 8:15. It was at one of these dances that Suzy extracted a measure of revenge for the number of times Stuart had told and sung of his old sweetheart, Mary. One evening Mary, a number of years and some fifty pounds later, showed up informing a shocked Stuart that she was his Mary. If ever an old flame sputtered and went up in smoke, this was it. As Stuart desperately fumbled for an excuse to avoid dancing with her, Suzy came to the "rescue," saying that one of the fellows would be happy to lead the band as they were certain he was dying to dance with Mary. As best Stuart could recall the encounter, "it was like pushing a piano over rough ground."

The active recording career of Stuart Hamblen covered a period of about thirty years, from 1929 to 1958. Soon after he arrived in California, he cut ten sides for RCA at the old Hal Roach Studio in Culver City. In August 1934, he was the first artist to record for the fledgling Decca Record Company. Columbia Records signed Stuart in 1949 where he remained until moving to RCA in 1954. His two biggest hits were "Remember Me" and "I Won't Go Huntin' With You, Jake," both for Columbia. It is interesting to note that while some of the Hamblen music, particularly his love songs, were successful in both the pop and country music fields, acceptance by the country music fans was not as great as would be expected. In general, his songs differed to a noticeable degree from those written by his country music contemporaries. It is an observation that had there been the same push for "cross-over" appeal in the early fifties that there is now, possibly Stuart's music might have been received by a much larger listening audience. As a vocalist, he presented no threat to the top recording artists of the time. He did possess a very listenable voice and was a consistent seller. Most of his Columbia and RCA recordings did feature a more modern background sound, with violins and reeds. An interesting recollection of one particular recording session was made recently by the gifted musician, Joe Maphis, who

appeared on many of Stuart's recordings. Joe relates that Stuart was performing one of his moving recitations, and as Joe looked around the room, he observed tears in the eyes of a couple of the veteran studio musicians. Such was the "soul" reflected in the voice and music of Stuart Hamblen.

With an unequalled talent to paint a picture with words, Stuart wrote most of his songs by observing a happening and then putting it down on paper in such a way that one would almost feel he was present. An example of this is his sensitive composition "This Ole House." I say "sensitive" advisedly as it was originally written to be a sad song with an inner meaning. It was only after Stuart began receiving impressive royalty checks from Rosemary Clooney's version that he forgave her for "ruining my song." "This Ole House" was inspired by Stuart's chance finding of a dead prospector in an old cabin back in the mountains. He found the little old man lying on his bed with a light powder of snow across his chest, where it had sifted down through a broken window pane. As Stuart stood silent for a moment, his eyes caught the frayed curtains at the window. He knew they must have been hung by a woman, as a man will seldom bother with such things so far away from civilization, and he had seen some broken toys back underneath the high porch. With these impressions in mind, he later began to write....

"This ole house once knew my children,
This ole house once knew my wife;
This ole house was home and comfort,
As we fought the storms of life.
This ole house once rang with laughter,
This ole house heard many a shout;
Now she trembles in the darkness,
When the lightning walks about."⁴

Another song, simple but moving, was written to comfort a friend who had lost his little girl and, as Stuart recalled, all that he had left to help hold the memories was her rag doll:

"It's just a little old rag doll dear,
That you held in your baby arms;
As you played 'round my knee,
My little darling of three;
With your little ol' rag doll."⁵

When one reviews the impressive number of Hamblen compositions, it is difficult to name another individual who has written so many types of songs--country, western, gospel, love, patriotic, novelty, and children.

A decisive event that was to have a profound effect on the life and career of Stuart took place in 1949. For a number of years it was all too evident that he was becoming increasingly occupied with pursuits that were leading him into serious difficulty, not the least of which was a dependency on liquor. Problems arose that he could not cope with, and it was only with the patience and under-



Stuart Hamblen's "The Family Album" Radio KMIC, Inglewood, Calif., 1930. (L to r): Vince Engel, Skipper Hawkins, Sue Willie, Norman Hedges, Stuart Hamblen, Hubert Flatt, Lorraine McIntire, Ruth DeMondrum, Patsy Montana. (The three girls were known as The Montana Cowgirls.)



Stuart Hamblen's "King Cowboy and his Woolly West Review," 1935 (l to r): Lou Sterling, "Herman the Hermit" Snyder, Joe Espetallier, Jerry Hutcherson, Skeeter Hubbert, Vince Engel, Darol Rice, Sonny Dawson, Cliffie Stone, Stuart Hamblen, Len Dossey.

standing of Suzy that he was able to maintain any semblance of restraint. Deciding he required help beyond her capacity, Suzy maneuvered Stuart to a tent revival held by evangelist Billy Graham. With Reverend Graham directing his pointed remarks at Stuart, Stuart made a decision for Christ that night. It was a decision that was to give new direction and meaning to his life. This was immediately reflected as beautiful gospel songs began to flow from his pen, the first being "He Bought My Soul at Calvary." The impressive writing ability of the man is reflected in such compositions as "His Hands," "Teach Me Lord to Wait," "One Day Nearer Home," "How Big is God," "I've Got So Many Million Years That I Can't Count Them," and "Until Then," among others. The story behind his famous "It Is No Secret," is worth repeating. One evening in 1950, as he and Suzy were visiting their friend, John Wayne, the conversation got around to religion and the remark was made that it was no secret what God could do in a person's life. As they were leaving, Wayne again repeated the comment and it was on Stuart's mind when he returned home. While Suzy prepared for retiring, Stuart took a pencil and paper and started to write. As he began, his big hall clock struck midnight. Seemingly an hour later, he called to Suzy to listen to his new song. Much to his surprise, as Suzy came downstairs, the clock chimed twelve-fifteen. Sensing he had written something out of the ordinary, Suzy began to sing:

"The chimes of time, ring out the news,
Another day is through,
Someone slipped and fell, was that
someone you?
You may have longed for added strength,
Your courage to renew;
Do not be disheartened, for I have news
for you.
It is no secret what God can do..."⁶

This unique ability to change direction and improve his lot in life is indicative of the man Stuart Hamblen. His life has been filled with the unusual. He appeared in a few movies, making no impression on the industry whatsoever; he was, and is, a great horseman; his hounds are a story in themselves. In the late forties he was heavily involved with race horses. In 1947 he was the fourth leading trainer in the number of wins at Santa Anita. He ran for Congress, and later the Presidency, on the prohibition ticket in 1952, remarking that Eisenhower beat him out by a mere twenty-four million votes. But to his many friends, Stuart's real charm lies in his penchant for relating his many encounters with people and animals he has known. That he may at times "expand" on these stories does not in the least detract from their interest. And it is safe to state, in view of his colorful career, he has never had to create a story. Stuart loves to reminisce and relate happenings he has had with some of his unusual friends. One such favorite is Rufus Goofus, a delightful if not eccentric personality. One story reveals how Rufus offered to drive a friend on a trip, although he had never driven an auto-

mobile before. Stuart arrived at the radio station the next morning to find Rufus and friend fast asleep in their old touring car with the windshield missing and the car full of oranges. It seems they had taken a short-cut through an orange grove to elude police who wished to discuss his erratic driving. On another occasion, as Stuart's group was preparing to furnish thirty minutes of entertainment for the audience between pictures at a large theatre in Los Angeles, Rufus appeared on stage, unannounced and unwanted, with chair in hand, informing Stuart that he wished to tell the people of his trip from his hometown of Cabin Creek, West Virginia to California. Knowing what most likely would take place, Stuart informed Rufus that he could perform "another time." Immediately the audience took up the cause and insisted that Rufus tell his story. Some twenty minutes later, he had covered only the first three states on his journey westward.

Another not so funny occurrence also took place on the stage of a local theatre. The script called for Stuart to come charging out astride his big horse, Natchee, to the strains of "Texas Plains," rear up and salute the audience. Inadvertently some water had been left on the stage. As they dashed out, Natchee's rubber shoes hit the wet spot and Stuart and horse crashed into the footlights. As the frightened animal reacted to exploding bulbs, Stuart shouted, "Hold it!" Natchee froze. Gingerly they backed out of the lights and off the stage. Stuart gave instructions to dry the floor as he planned another entrance immediately. Stuart knew that if he didn't repeat the act right away, Natchee might never perform again. A few minutes later, to the roar of an appreciative crowd, they made a successful entrance.

Like many of his contemporaries, Stuart chose to go into semi-retirement in the early sixties rather than try to adjust his music and career to fit the emerging era. This was an easy decision, as he had little appreciation for the lifestyle and, more importantly, the music. He readily admits that he just does not understand the appeal of most of today's music. He continues to write songs, but at a more leisurely pace. His latest, "The Last Cowboy," and "Nothin' Changes," prove he still can compose and deliver a song that will tug at the heartstrings. In 1959 he purchased the estate of Errol Flynn in the Hollywood Hills where he, Suzy, their horses, and hounds live a quiet but busy life.

Stuart was lured back into radio in 1971, through the efforts of his good friend Bill Ward, vice president and general manager of radio KLAC in Los Angeles. Now, every Sunday old friends and new, tune in to hear the recorded "Cowboy Church of the Air," where the music and stories of Stuart Hamblen continue to reveal the story of a most uncommon man.

APPENDIX: COMPOSITIONS BY STUART HAMBLÉN

Across the Great Divide
 A Few Things to Remember
 A Million Wild Horses
 Army of the Lord, The
 Baby Raccoon in the Hollow Log, The
 Be Just Like Your Daddy
 Beyond the Sun
 Bigger Day, The
 Big Rock Candy Mountain #2
 Big Wicked Bill
 Black Diamond
 Blood Upon Your Hands
 Blue Bonnets for Her Golden Hair
 Born to be Happy
 Boy in Blue, The
 Bronco Bustin' Man
 Buford the Bulldog
 But for the Grace of God
 By the Sleepy Rio Grande
 Condemnation
 Confusion
 Daddy
 Daddy's Delinquent
 Daddy's Little Cutie Pie
 Dandy of the River, The
 Darling, You Still Have Me
 Dear Lord, Be My Shepherd
 Desert Sunrise
 Diamonds Don't Dim
 Do You Know Jesus?
 Dog-Gone Preacher's Wrong, That
 Don't Ask the Lord for Help
 Don't Fool Around with Calico
 Don't Send Those Kids to Sunday School
 Double Crossed
 Down in Old Kentucky
 Driftin' Back to Dixie
 Eagle With a Broken Wing, An
 Everybody Calls Me Honey
 Face to Face
 Fatso Fido
 Ford *Wrings* A Dollar Dry
 Foreman, The
 Friends I Know
 Frontier
 Fumi-Roo
 Gambler's Song, The
 Gathering Home
 Go On By
 God is a Good God
 Golden Key, The
 Golden River
 Good Mornin' Y'All
 Good Old Days, The
 Good Woman, A
 Goodbye My Duzy Belle
 Goodnight, Mrs. Jones
 Got a Horse, Got a Rope, Got a Saddle
 Grasshopper MacClain
 Green Ice and Mountain Men
 Grunt Dance, The
 Hail the New Ford
 Handful of Sunshine, A
 Hangin' of Old Zeb Hatfeld, The

Happy Hunting Ground
 Hardrock, Coco and Joe
 Have Faith
 Hawaii
 He Bought My Soul at Calvary
 He Left His Soul Behind
 He Makes a Way
 Hell Train
 Hidden You, The
 Hip, Hip Hooray, MacArthur
 His Hands
 How Big is God?
 I am Persuaded
 I Believe
 I Don't Know Why
 I Get Lonesome
 I Gotta Feeling
 I Have the Brightest Future
 I Learned About Women From Her (Music)
 I Live a Lie
 I Love You Bestest
 I Want to be There
 I Was a Devil
 I Whisper Your Name
 I Won't go Huntin' With You, Jake
 I'll Find You
 I'm Not Afraid of the Dark Anymore
 In the Palm of His Hand
 Is He Satisfied?
 It Is No Secret
 It's a Brand New Day
 It's a Great, Great Morning
 I've Got so Many Million Years
 Just a Man
 Just a Memory
 Just Let Me Love You
 Keep Away, Keep Away from Those Swinging Doors
 Keep Chasin' the Sun
 Keep This in Mind
 King of all Kings, The
 Kissless You
 Knockin' on Down the Road
 Known Only to Him
 Lady Luck
 Lamppost of Old Broadway
 Last Cowboy, The
 Late at Night
 Leave This House One More Time (And I'm Gonna
 Clobber You)
 Let's Kiss Good Night Like We Kissed Good
 Morning
 Lily of My Valley
 Little Black Sheep
 Little Old Rag Doll
 Lola Lee
 Lopez, The Bandit
 Lord, I Pray
 Lord is Counting on You, The
 Lord's Big Smile, The
 Love Tree, The
 Love You All the Time
 Mainliner
 Make Believe Bay
 Malamute

Man in the Tiger Drawers, The
 Many Blue Lights
 Mean Woman
 Mush!
 My Brother
 My Baby's Afraid of Me
 My Brother's Keeper
 My Brown Eyed Texas Rose
 My Chain of Silver Bells
 My Dreambook of Memories
 My Father
 My Home is Always Where You Are
 My Life With You
 My Lord is Mighty
 My Mary
 My Old Hound Dog
 My Religion's Not Old Fashioned
 My Reward
 My Voice is Changing
 My Woman
 Nothin' Changes, Only Me
 Of God I Sing
 Oklahoma Bill
 Oklahoma is Her Name
 Oh, Miss Chicken
 Old Glory
 Old Man, The
 Old Pappy Time is A-Pickin' My Pocket
 Old Pappy's New Banjo
 One Day Nearer Home
 Open Up Your Heart
 Our Anniversary
 Our Love Affair
 Our Old Captain
 Over the Sand
 Partners With the Lord
 Pony Express
 Pokolodie Bill
 Poor Boy
 Poor Unlucky Cowboy
 Popocatapetl
 Prairie is My Broadway, The
 Prettiest Girl in Town, The
 Price Tag, The
 Rack Up the Balls Boys
 Red Nellie
 Remember Me
 Ridin' Ol' Paint, Leadin' Ol' Bald
 River of Time, The
 Roses for Suzy
 Sailor's Farewell
 St. Peter Lowered the Boom
 Sam McGee
 Save Your Confederate Money
 Send Me the Lady
 Shake the Hand of a Man
 Sheepskin Corn and a Wrinkle on a Horn
 Silent Guest, The
 Sing Out, Brother Sing
 Sing to a Lady
 So Dear to my Heart
 Someone
 Someone Calls Me Daddy
 Somewhere Beyond the Sun
 Somewhere Down the River

Speaking Terms
 Standing on the Pier in the Rain
 Sunday School Song
 Sunshine Alley
 Sweetest Story Ever Told, The
 Teach Me, Lord, to Wait
 Texas Plains
 That Lonesome Valley
 That Sister of Mine
 That'll Be the Day
 That's How I Worship You
 That's Just Livin'
 That's Nice
 That's What My Mother Told Me
 There's a Lot More Laying Down
 There's a Right Way
 The Rock
 These Things Shall Pass
 They're Gonna Kill Ya!
 This Book
 This Old House Has Got To Go
 This Ole House
 This Ole World
 This Ship of Mine
 Tho' Autumn's Coming On
 Tho' Time May Change Its Course
 Those Bad, Bad Kids
 Three Things
 Throw 'Em Out
 Thunderbird
 Time To Go
 'Tis So Sweet to Remember
 Touch of His Hand, The
 Toy Violin, The
 Transportation
 True Love Will Always Last
 Turn Your Faith Loose
 Unborn to Time
 Until Then
 Walking My Fortune to Old Abilene
 Wanderlust
 Wave Your Little Hand
 Way Out in Idaho
 Wee Suzy Waltz
 We Sold Him
 What Can I Do For My Country
 When Earth's Last Picture is Painted (Music)
 When I Come Ridin' By
 When It's Flower Time in the High Sierras
 When My Lord Picks Up the Phone
 When Someone You Love Loves Another
 When the Moon Shines Down on the Mountain
 When We Bought the Farm
 When the Seasons Never Change
 Where Will You be in the Morning?
 Whistler's Dream, The
 Will You Let Me Call You Honey?
 Without a Girl
 Who-A-A-Pig
 Who's Been Here?
 Workshop of the Lord, The
 Wrong Keyhole, The
 You Can't Kiss Santa Goodnight
 You Can't Love Without Giving
 You Must be Born Again
 You'll Always be Mine

You're Always Brand New
Your Hands
You Still Have Me

FOOTNOTES

- 1 "Ol' Pappy's New Banjo," Copyright Chappell Music.
- 2 "Texas Plains," Copyright Hamblen Music, Inc.

- 3 "Remember Me," Copyright MCA Music, Inc.
- 4 "This Ole House," Copyright Hamblen Music, Inc.
- 5 "Little Ol' Rag Doll," Copyright Hamblen Music, Inc.
- 6 "It Is No Secret," Copyright Duchess Music, Inc.



The Original Beverly Hillbillies, 1930: (1 to r) Henry (Hank) Blaeholder, Leo (Zeke Manners) Mannus, Glen Rice, Cyprian (Ezra) Paulette, Stuart (Dave) Hamblen, Aleth (Lem) Hanson.

STUART HAMBLÉN DISCOGRAPHY: RCA VICTOR RECORDINGS
(Cowboy Joe from Abilene, Texas)

6 June 1929, Camden, New Jersey

49424	The Boy In Blue	V-40109, E1 2125, B-5242
49425	Drifting Back To Dixie	V-40319
49426	When the Moon Shines Down On the Mountain	V-40109, E1 2125, B-5242
49427	The Big Rock Candy Mountains No. 2	V-40319

21 March 1930, Culver City, California

54736	Wrong Keyhole	V-40242
54737	I Gotta Feelin'	V-40242

5 May 1930, Culver City, California

54781	Hawaii	V-40306
54782	Standin' On the Pier In the Rain	V-40306

21 August, 1930, Hollywood, California

61014	By the Sleepy Rio Grande	V-40311
61015	Sailor's Farewell	V-40311

13 November 1931, Hollywood, California

With Ted Dahl's Orchestra. Orchestration: 2 Violins, Cello, 3 Saxophones,
3 Cornets, Trombone, Piano, String bass, Traps, Banjo.

68334	Golden River	B-8468
68335	Dream Book of Memories	B-8468

With: 2 Violins, Accordion, Guitar, String Bass.

68336	My Brown Eyed Texas Rose	23685
68337	My Mary	23685

STUART HAMBLÉN DISCOGRAPHY: DECCA RECORDINGS
(Stuart Hamblén and His Covered Wagon Jubilee)

3 August 1934, Hollywood, California

DLA 1	Poor Unlucky Cowboy	5001
DLA 2	Texas Plains	5001
DLA 3	Riding Old Paint Leading Old Bald	5145
DLA 4	Little Rag Doll	Unissued
DLA 5	Lopez the Bandit	5145

23 February 1935, Hollywood, California

DLA 104	Sunshine Alley	5077
DLA 105	Lola Lee	5077
DLA 106	Be Just Like Your Daddy	5109
DLA 107	Poor Boy	5109

STUART HAMBLÉN DISCOGRAPHY: AMERICAN RECORDING ARTISTS RECORDINGS

ca. 1943, Hollywood, California

RR 9758	Whistling My Love Song To You	4001
RR 9760	They're Gonna Kill Ya	4001

STUART HAMBLEN DISCOGRAPHY: 4-STAR RECORDINGS

ca. 1945, Hollywood, California

1596	Ace In the Hole	1188
1597	My Old Hound Dog	1188
1598	Our Anniversary	1189
1599	Blue Bonnets For Her Golden Hair	1189
	Sheepskin Corn and A Wrinkle On A Horn	
	Poor Unlucky Cowboy	

STUART HAMBLEN DISCOGRAPHY: COLUMBIA RECORDINGS

16 August 1949, Hollywood, California

HCO 3874	I Won't Go Huntin' With You Jake	20625
ZLP 1537		3-20625
HCO 3875	Blue Bonnets In Her Golden Hair	20650
ZLP 1827		3-20650
HCO 3876	Let's See You Fix It	20625
ZLP 1536		3-20625
HCO 3877	Sheepskin Corn and a Wrinkle On a Horn	20674
ZLP 2290		3-20674

27 October 1949, Hollywood, California

RHCO 3933	Pony Express	20650
ZLP 1826		3-20650

12 January 1950, Hollywood, California

RHCO 3995	I'll Find You	Unissued
RHCO 3996	Condemnation	20674
ZLP 2278		3-20674
RHCO 3997	I Whisper Your Name	20733
ZLP 2279		3-20733

2 May 1950, Hollywood, California

RHCO 4065	Good Mornin' Yall	20733
ZLP 2998		3-20733
RHCO 4066	I'll Find You	20714
ZLP 3011		3-20714
ZSP 3802		4-20714
RHCO 4067	My Life With You	Unissued
RHCO 4068	There's a Right Way	Unissued

17 May 1950, Hollywood, California

RHCO 4069	Remember Me	20714
ZLP 3116		3-20714
ZSP 3803		4-20714
RHCO 4070	Blood On Your Hands	20724
ZLP 3117		3-20724
ZSP 5542		4-20724
ZSP 11949		6-1327

17 May 1950, Hollywood, California

RHCO 4071	It Is No Secret	20724
ZLP 3118		3-20724
ZSP 5543		4-20724
ZSP 11949		6-1327
ZEP 35831		H-2070
ZEP 47175		B-2827
RHCO 4072	He Bought My Soul At Calvary	Remake: RHCO 4333

6 September 1950, Hollywood, California

RHCO 4067	My Life With You	20779
ZLP 3012		3-20779
ZSP 4473		4-20779
RHCO 4247	Three Little Dwarfs (Hardrock, Coco and Joe)	20754
ZLP 3663		3-20754, 90096-V
RHCO 4249	Let's Kiss Goodnight	Unissued
RHCO 4250	You Can't Kiss Santa Goodnight	20754
ZLP 3661		3-20754, 90096-V

30 October 1950, Hollywood, California

RHCO 4330	Old Glory	20779
ZLP 4330		3-20779
ZSP 4331		4-20779
RHCO 4331	Someone Calls Me Daddy	Unissued
RHCO 4332	King Of All Kings	20795
ZLP 4286		3-20795
ZSP 4287		4-20795
ZSP 22948		6-1327
RHCO 4333	He Bought My Soul At Calvary	20795
ZLP 4288		3-20795
ZSP 4289		4-20795, 4-21428s
ZSP 11948		6-1327
RHCO 4333-IN		21428s

28 December 1950, Hollywood, California

CO 46965	You're Always Brand New	20880
ZSP 8761		4-20880

24 April 1951, Hollywood, California

RHCO 4473	Our Old Captain (Ain't a Man)	20827
ZSP 7045		4-20827
RHCO 4474	I Believe	20848, HL 7403
ZSP 7046		4-20848, HS 11203
RHCO 4475	Hip, Hip, Hooray, MacArthur	Unissued
RHCO 4476	Don't Fool Around With Calico (When You Have	20827
ZSP 7048	Silk At Home)	4-20827

22 June 1951, Hollywood, California

RHCO 4521	These Things Shall Pass	20848, HL 7403
ZSP 7533		4-20848, HS 11203
RHCO 4523	Without a Girl	Unissued
RHCO 4524	Diamonds Don't Dim	Unissued

27 July 1951, Hollywood, California

RHCO 4522	Got So Many Million Years	20988s, HL 7403
ZSP 7534		4-20988, HS 11203
RHCO 4522-2N		21428s
ZSP 7534-2		4-21428s
RHCO 4560	Just Let Me Love You	20880
ZSP 7724		4-20880
RHCO 4564	My Mary	21061
ZSP 7725		4-21061

9 January 1952, Hollywood, California

RHCO 10088	I Get Lonesome	21013
RZSP 10088		4-21013
RHCO 10089	This Ship of Mine	20938
RZSP 10089		4-20938
RHCO 10090	Lord, I Pray	20988s
RZSP 10090		4-20988
RHCO 10091	Daddy's Little Cutie Pie	21116
RZSP 10091		4-21116

26 January 1952, Hollywood, California

RHCO 10154	Black Diamond	20938
RZSP 10154		4-20938

29 July 1952, Hollywood, California

RHCO 10254	A Million Wild Horses	21061
RZSP 10254		4-21061
RHCO 10261	Known Only To Him	21012s, HL 7403
RZSP 10261		4-21012, HS 11203
RHCO 10262	Is He Satisfied	21012s, HL 7403
RZSP 10262		4-21012, HS 11203
ZEP 47176		B-2827
RHCO 10265	Grasshopper MacClain	21014
RZSP 10265		4-21014
RHCO 10266	Oklahoma Bill	21014
RZSP 10266		4-21014
RHCO 10271	You Still Have Me	Unissued
RHCO 10272	Our Love Affair	21013
RZSP 10272		4-21013

23 January 1953, Hollywood, California

RHCO 10396	Partners With the Lord	21158s
RZSP 10396		4-21158
RHCO 10401	Old Pappy's New Banjo	21079s, HL 7403
RZSP 10401		4-21079, HS 11203
RHCO 10402	You Must Be Born Again	21158s
RZSP 10402		4-21158
RHCO 10403	Friends I Know	21079s, HL 7403
RZSP 10403		4-21079, HS 11203

2 April 1953, Hollywood, California

CO 47100	The Hidden You	21116, HL 7403
ZSP 14096		4-21116, HS 11203

12 May 1953, Hollywood, California

RHCO 10496	Teach Me Lord To Wait	21124s
RZSP 10496		4-21124
RHCO 10497	My Religion's Not Old Fashioned	21190, HL 7403
RZSP 10497		4-21190, HS 11203
RHCO 10498	He Makes A Way	21190
RZSP 10498		4-21190
RHCO 10499	I Believe	21124s
RZSP 10499		4-21124
ZEP 35831		H-2070
ZEP 47176		B-2827

23 May 1953, Hollywood, California

RHCO 10506	Keep This In Mind	Unissued
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21 December 1953, Hollywood, California

RHCO 10715	Please Tell Me Why	21277
RZSP 10715		4-21277
RHCO 10716	The Workshop of the Lord	2122s, HS 7403
RZSP 10716		4-2122s, HS 11203
RHCO 10717	Beyond the Sun	21277
RZSP 10717		4-21277
RHCO 10718	Robe of Calvary	21211s
RZSP 10718		4-21211s

Recording Date Unknown

RZSP 46746	Golden River	4-41780
RZSP 46747	The Foreman	4-41780
JRZSP 70318	The Good Old Days	4-42198
JRZSP 70319	What Can I Do For My Country	4-42198

STUART HAMBLÉN DISCOGRAPHY: RCA VICTOR RECORDINGS

8 April 1954, Hollywood, California

E4VB-3905	This Ole House	20-5739-A, 47-5739-A, LPM 1253, LPM 3265, CAL 537, EPA 5115
E4VB-3906	When My Lord Picks Up the Phone	20-5739-B, 47-5739-B, CAL 537, EPA 5115

23 June 1954, New York, New York

E4VB-4693	His Hands	LPM 1253, LPM 3265, 547-0533B, 547-0903B, EPB 1253
E4VB-4694	Where Would You Be In the Morning	Unissued
E4VB-4695	Heavenly Cannonball	20-5810-B, 47-5810-B
E4VB-4696	I Am Persuaded	20-5810-A, 47-5810-A

13 October 1954, Hollywood, California

E4VB-5807	Ole Pappy Time	20-5918-A, 47-5918-A
E4VB-5808	The Toy Violin	20-5918-B, 47-5918-B

10 November 1954, Hollywood, California

E4VB-4566	Where the Seasons Never Change	LPM 1253, LPM 3265, 547-0534-A
E4VB-4567	I Don't Know Why	LPM 1253, LPM 3265, 547-0533-B
E4VB-4568	He Bought My Soul At Calvary	LPM 1253, LPM 3265, EPB 1253, 547-0904-B
E4VB-4569	It Is No Secret	LPM 1253, LPM 3265, EPB 1253, 547-0903-A, EPA 5115, EPA 904, 547-0533-A

11 November 1954, Hollywood, California

E4VB-4572	My Brother	20-5990-B, 47-5990-B, CAL 537
E4VB-4573	The Lord Is Counting On You	LPM 1253, LPM 3265, EPB 1253, 547-0903-B EPA 5115, 547-0534-A
E4VB-4574	Blood Upon Your Hands	LPM 1253, LPM 3265, EPB 1253, 547-0904-A, 547-0533-A
E4VB-4575	If We All Said Our Prayers	20-5990-A, 47-5990-A

28 January 1955, Hollywood, California

F2WB-1165	Just A Man	20-6042-B, 47-6042-B
F2WB-1166	A Few Things To Remember	Unissued
F2WB-1167	Go On My	20-6042-A, 47-6042-A
F2WB-1168	Mainliner	Unissued

24 February 1955, Hollywood, California

F2WB-0497	Lord I'll Try	20-6152-A, 47-6152-A
F2WB-0498	Lonesome Valley	20-6152-B, 47-6152-B

22 November 1955, Hollywood, California

F2WB-7534	A Handful of Sunshine	20-6333-A, 47-6333-A
F2WB-7535	You'll Always Be Mine	20-6333-B, 47-6333-B

15 February 1956, Hollywood, California

G2WB-0438	The King Of All Kings	LPM 1253, EPB 1253, 547-0904-B, EPA 804
G2WB-0439	Open Up Your Heart	LPM 1253, EPB 1253, 547-0903-A, EPA 804, EPA 5115
G2WB-0440	I Believe	LPM 1253, EPA 804
G2WB-0441	These Things Shall Pass	LPM 1253, EPB 1253, 547-0904-A
G2WB-0442	The Rock	20-6581-B, 47-6581-B

16 February 1956, Hollywood, California

G2WB-0443	Don't Fool Around With Calico	Unissued
G2WB-0444	Hell Train	20-6465-A, 47-6465-A, CAL 537
G2WB-0445	A Few Things to Remember	20-6465-B, 47-6465-B, CAL 537
G2WB-0446	Mush	Unissued

23 May 1956, Hollywood, California

G2WB-3151	Don't Ask the Lord	Unissued
G2WB-3152	Sing Out Brother Sing	Unissued
G2WB-3153	This Book	20-6581A, 47-6581-A, CAL 537
G2WB-3154	Writing Songs With My Guitar	Unissued

28 September 1956, Hollywood, California

G2WB-4797	The Whistler's Dream	20-6714-B, 47-6714-B
G2WB-4798	God Is A Good God	Unissued
G2WB-4799	Mush	Unissued

1 October 1956, Hollywood, California

G2WB-7751	Desert Sunrise	20-6714-A, 47-6714-A
G2WB-7752	Desert Sunrise	Unissued

10 October 1956, Hollywood, California

G2WB-4984	God Is A Good God	20-6736-B, 47-6736-B
G2WB-4985	This Ole House	Demo
G2WB-4986	The Sweetest Story Ever Told	20-6736-A, 47-6736-A
G2WB-4987	A Style All Your Own	Unissued

6 December 1956, Hollywood, California

G2WB-8062	Somewhere Beyond the Sun	20-6759-A, 47-6759-A, CAL 537
G2WB-8063	Dear Lord Be My Shepherd	20-6759-B, 47-6759-B, CAL 537
G2WB-8064	Popocatapetl	Unissued
G2WB-8065	Debutante	Unissued

11 January 1957, Hollywood, California

H2WB-0233	What A Friend	LPM 1436, EPA 1-1436, CAL/CAS 973
H2WB-0234	Amazing Grace	LPM 1436, EPA 1-1436, CAL/CAS 973
H2WB-0235	In the Sweet By and By	LPM 1436, EPA 1-1436, CAL/CAS 973
H2WB-0236	The Old Rugged Cross	LPM 1436, EPA 1-1436, CAL/CAS 973, 20-7052-A, 47-7052-A

14 January 1957, Hollywood, California

H2WB-0237	His Eye Is On the Sparrow	LPM 1436, EPA 2-1436, CAL/CAS 973
H2WB-0238	In the Garden	LPM 1436, EPA 2-1436, CAL/CAS 973
H2WB-0239	There Is A Fountain	LPM 1436, EPA 2-1436, CAL/CAS 973
H2WB-0240	How Great Thou Art	LPM 1436, EPA 2-1436, CAL/CAS 973

16 January 1957, Hollywood, California

H2WB-0241	Old Time Religion	LPM 1436, 20-7052-B, 47-7052-B
H2WB-0242	When the Saints Go Marching In	LPM 1436
H2WB-0243	Leaning On the Everlasting Arm	LPM 1436, CAL/CAS 973
H2WB-0244	When the Roll Is Called Up Yonder	LPM 1436, CAL/CAS 973

27 March 1957, Hollywood, California

H2WB-0538	My Father	Unissued
H2WB-0539	That'll Be the Day	Unissued

27 March 1957, Hollywood, California

H2WB-0540	Battle Hymn of the Republic	CAL 537
H2WB-0541	He Keeps Me Singing	CAL 537

9 April 1957, Hollywood, California

H2WB-0562	That'll Be the Day	CAL 537
H2WB-0563	My Father	CAL 537, 20-6911-A, 47-6911-A
H2WB-0564	Lonesome Cowboy's Prayer	CAL 537, 20-6911-B, 47-6911-B

24 September 1957, Hollywood, California

H2WB-5572	Buford the Bulldog	WBV/BY 80
H2WB-5573	Walking My Fortune to Old Abilene	Unissued
H2WB-5574	The Baby Raccoon	WBV/BY 77
H2WB-5575	Oh Miss Chicken	WBV/BY 77

11 November 1957, Hollywood, California

H2WB-6846	This Ole World	20-7111-A, 47-7111-A
H2WB-6847	Fumi-Roo	WBV/BY 80
H2WB-6848	Don't Fool Around With Calico	20-7111-B, 47-7111-B

19 July 1971, Hollywood, California

AWKS-8377	When Earth's Last Picture Is Painted	74-0525
AWKS-8378	What Can I Do For My Country	74-0525

STUART HAMBLÉN DISCOGRAPHY: CORAL RECORDINGS

16 May 1958, Hollywood, California

104-989	You Can't Love Without Giving	9-62000
104-990	Someone	9-62000

30 July 1958, Hollywood, California

L-11-078	I'll Find You	CRL 57254
L-11-079	So Dear To My Heart	CRL 57254
L-11-080	Remember Me	CRL 57254, 9-62089
L-11-082	Across the Great Divide	CRL 57254
L-11-083	Ace In the Hole	CRL 57254

15 September 1958, Hollywood, California

L-11-175	Texas Plains	CRL 57254
L-11-176	This Ole House	CRL 57254
L-11-177	Indiana (Back Home Again)	CRL 57254, 9-62089
L-11-178	Side By Side	CRL 57254
L-11-179	The Strawberry Roan	CRL 57254
L-11-180	The Face On the Bar-Room Floor	CRL 57254

STUART HAMBLÉN DISCOGRAPHY: DECCA RECORDINGS

ca. 1965, Hollywood, California

45-88794	A Handful of Sunshine	9-29757
45-88698	Those Bad, Bad Kids	9-29757

STUART HAMBLÉN DISCOGRAPHY: VOSS RECORDINGS

1974, Hollywood, California

1035-2	The Last Cowboy	1035
1035-1	It's A Brand New Day	1035

STUART HAMBLÉN DISCOGRAPHY: KAPP RECORDINGS

1975, Hollywood, California

K9811-3	This Old House Has Got To Go	K733
K9794-3	Tho' Autumn's Coming On	K733

STUART HAMBLÉN ALBUMS

RCA, It Is No Secret, LPM 1253, LPM 3265

It Is No Secret	The King of All Kings
Open Up Your Heart	I Don't Know Why
These Things Shall Pass	He Bought My Soul At Calvary
Blood On Your Hands	I Believe
Where the Seasons Never Change	His Hands
The Lord Is Counting On You	This Ole House

RCA, The Grand Old Hymns, LPM 1436

The Old Rugged Cross	Amazing Grace
His Eye Is On the Sparrow	In the Garden
Leaning On the Everlasting Arms	Old Time Religion
In the Sweet By And By	What A Friend
There Is A Fountain	How Great Thou Art
When the Roll Is Called Up Yonder	When the Saints Go Marching In

RCA CAMDEN, Beyond The Sun, CAL 537

That'll Be the Day	Dear Lord Be My Shepherd
Lonesome Cowboy's Prayer	Beyond the Sun
My Father	This Book
Hell Train	My Brother
He Keeps Me Singing	When My Lord Picks Up the Phone
Battle Hymn Of the Republic	A Few Things To Remember

RCA CAMDEN, In The Garden, CAL/CAS 973

In the Garden	The Old Rugged Cross
Amazing Grace	His Eye Is On the Sparrow
In the Sweet By And By	There Is A Fountain
What A Friend	Leaning On the Everlasting Arms
How Great Thou Art	When the Roll Is Called Up Yonder

WORD, Cowboy Church, WST 8509

It Is No Secret	This Ole House
My Religion's Not Old Fashioned	Keep This In Mind
Do You Know Jesus	I've Got So Many Million Years
Friends I Know	Gathering Home

SACRED, A Visit With Stuart Hamblen, LPS 6009

Friends I Know
 Lord I Pray
 Come Unto Me
 Pappy's Ole Banjo
 This Ship Of Mine
 Until Then

Help Thou My Unbelief
 Teach Me Lord To Wait
 Unborn To Time
 Army Of the Lord
 Don't Send Those Kids To Sunday School

COLUMBIA, Of God I Sing, CS 8569

Until Then
 One Day Nearer Home
 I've Got So Many Million Years
 Help Thou My Unbelief
 The Army Of the Lord
 Someone

Teach Me Lord To Wait
 Of God I Sing
 I Want To Be There
 But For the Grace Of God
 How Big Is God
 The Good Old Days

COLUMBIA, I Believe, HS 11203, HL 7403

I've Got So Many Million Years
 Friends I Know
 I Believe
 The Workshop Of the Lord
 Old Pappy's New Banjo

My Religions Not Old Fashioned
 The Hidden You
 These Things Shall Pass
 Known Only To Him
 Is He Satisfied With Me

COLUMBIA, The Spell Of The Yukon, CL 1588, CS 8388

Shake the Hand Of A Man
 The Shooting Of Dan McGrew
 The Lure Of Little Voices
 Pokolodie Bill Left His Soul Behind
 The Spell Of the Yukon

Send Me the Lady
 The Cremation Of Sam McGee
 Make Believe Bay
 Big Wicked Bill
 Mush

CORAL, Remember Me, CRL 57254,

This Ole House
 The Strawberry Roan
 Back Home Again In Indiana
 Texas Plains
 Across the Great Divide
 Face On the Barroom Floor

Remember Me
 Ace In the Hole
 So Dear To My Heart
 I'll Find You
 Side By Side
 Without A Girl

KAPP, This Old House Has Got To Go, KS 3469

This Old House Has Got To Go
 Tho' Autumn's Coming On
 Green Ice And Mountain Men
 The Price Tag
 Transportation
 Good Night Mrs. Jones

Walking My Fortune
 Blue Bonnets For Her Golden Hair
 Pony Express
 The Silent Guest
 The Hangin' Of Old Zeb Hatfield
 The Dandy Of the River

LAMB & LION, A Man And His Music, LLC C4001

Remember Me
 This Ole House
 My Mary
 Late At Night
 Texas Plains
 It Is No Secret

Rack Up the Balls
 Golden River
 Little Old Rag Doll
 Good Night, Mrs. Jones
 That's Just Living
 Until Then

JOHN HELD, JR.: JAZZ AGE AND GILDED AGE

By Archie Green

"Jazz Age," the term, implies a given musical form but essentially it marks a particular time period: 1918-1929. We Americans have frequently segmented our history by special nomenclature--Jacksonian Era, New Deal, Age of Reform, Gilded Age, Gay Nineties, Mauve Decade. When we date the Jazz Age to the time between the close of World War I and the catastrophic October crash which opened the Great Depression, we suggest not only the passage of years, but also an exotic flavor, a syncopated beat in these brief years. The parallel term "Roaring Twenties" has been used to designate our gaudy national spree and its large quest for open excitement. Jazz--fresh, buoyant, daring--became the perfect aural marker for this public high.

Jazz of the 1920s, of course, still echoes on numerous reissued LPs edited from 78-rpm discs of the period. However, the Jazz Age as a state-of-mind can best be recalled by naming a set of non-musical personalities--F. Scott Fitzgerald, Clara Bow, Rudolph Valentino, Al Capone, Babe Ruth, Lucky Lindy, Will Rogers--all representative of some highly visible aspect of American life. This decade also was fixed in imagination by fiction, sports, drama, film, and graphic art, which projected into popular consciousness a set of stock figures, among them the flapper, the collegiate sheik, the gangster, the worldly newspaperman, and the joiner (Babbitt). An important documentarian in art of some of these figures was John Held, Jr. Not only did he bring sheiks and shebas into sharp focus, but in cartoons for Life, Judge, College Humor, and other magazines, he gave youngsters new codes to emulate.

Recent critics have noted correctly Held's prime role as Jazz Age delineator. Richard Merkin, of the Rhode Island School of Design, likens him to artist Charles Dana Gibson (1867-1944), who created the Gibson Girl in the 1890s. Held, in observing the flapper and teaching her tricks, "set the style for the era: clothing, coiffure, manners, figures of speech, and most important of all, a youthful, exuberant, and all-encompassing impudence." Held's razor-thin girls, in bobbed hair and scanty dresses, determined beauty pageant standards not abandoned until the 1930s. Similarly, his saxophone-tooting, gin-guzzling college boys were found on campus until youth's values were altered in the New Deal period.

My initial attention in this series was directed to commercial art used by the sound recording industry when announcing its discovery of old-time and mountain music. As the series grew, I broadened it to include related musical expression, as well as many artists not connected in any way with phonograph records. My main area for exploration presently is the interaction of art (formal, academic, popular, commercial, untutored, idiosyncratic) with folk and folk-like music. I am especially concerned with those artists who have pioneered in the depiction of folk music or have added fresh vision to our understanding of its social role.

Some students of American music link jazz, blues, and folk forms into an integrated and continuous whole, while others place jazz and folk in discrete bins. We know that jazz developed, in this century, from a traditional base to a contemporary experimental configuration, and moved from being an exclusive Afro-American folk creation to a world wide music. Desirous of charting artistic response to these changes, I devoted a recent feature to Miguel Covarrubias, selecting for explication some of his Harlem drawings of Negro performers and audiences from the mid-twenties. This close look led me to John Held, Jr., for his very name has always been tied to jazz. Although Held and Covarrubias worked for many of the same magazines in Manhattan and often heard the same musicians, they were artistic ages apart in what each offered.

To my surprise, in a search of Held's art I found no Negro musicians in any of the low-life settings where jazz was born. Instead, his musicians were all white, young, collegiate, and often engaged in activity to which music seemed auxiliary. Six of these Jazz Age drawings are reproduced here from Held's Angels (1952) in which Held and Frank B. Gilbreth, Jr. looked back at collegiate life of the 1920s. For this book, Held selected more than 150 illustrations, ranging from single-figure line drawings to two-page spreads teeming with football fans or party goers. Although these are printed in black and white, some were originally rendered in pastels or watercolors, and published as Life covers. (This reference is to the humor magazine, 1883-1936, which preceded the photojournal.)

All the art in Held's Angels depicts the Roaring Twenties, but no drawing is dated individually, either by actual time of composition or by previous publication. A few of the cartoons retain their

original captions or other internal signs, such as "the Spirit of St. Louis" on a flivver. These captions and signs together, however, help stamp the Jazz Age upon Held's Angels, technically removed in publication by decades from the 1920s. In the half dozen items selected here, I have stressed music and dance with the exception of a coonskin-coated lad. No Held survey could be complete without this emblematic raccoon-in-man's-clothing. In order of placement, the items from Held's Angels are:

Three sax players	Page 191
"The Dance-Mad Younger Set"	131
Drummer	169
Dancing flapper (Charleston)	127
Waiting at the stadium	2
Two slickers	211

Held's cartoons of fraternity and sorority revelers are much more important today as period pieces, and as wry anatomical studies than as exact musical portraiture. Richard Merkin has identified "The Dance-Mad Younger Set" (first published in 1927 as a Life cover) as the quintessential Jazz Age drawing. Yet, within it no one dances to music, and a four-man band (sax, ukulele, drums, piano), relegated to the room's margins, is curiously passive. If this is a milestone of the Roaring Twenties, it suggests that the "roar" was non-musical, and that collegiate combos played more pallid side-line music than hot jazz. Central in Held's drawing, however, is a guiding notion of sin, of unashamed necking on the stairway. In a metaphoric sense, the term "Jazz Age" as applied to Held's art slips away from rhythmic or improvised musical expression to hedonistic conduct, to the breaking of puritanical codes, and to the public display of sensuality.

No museum catalog or art book is known to me which brings together the full range of American jazz depiction--performers, whether down-home creators or Gershwin-like interpreters; setting, as far apart as juke joint, speakeasy, concert hall, or festival circuit. When such a compilation is gathered, without question, John Held, Jr. will hold a significant and honored position, not because he translated pulsating sound into visual art, but because his cool pen helped extend the word "jazz" to cover a turbulent decade in national life.

In this connection, we note the phrase "danced the jazz" spoken on an Uncle Josh recording in 1909, and "jazz," the word for an energetic music, first printed in the San Francisco Bulletin in 1913. Scott Fitzgerald's This Side of Paradise (1920) told post-war collegians that they belonged to a special generation, soon named "lost" by Gertrude Stein. Fitzgerald himself labeled youth, mood, and era in Tales of the Jazz Age (1922). Obviously, a musical form--long in birth in Afro-American folk society--was not named on one baptismal day, by one song, or by one set of doting parents.

Corey Ford, editor of Columbia University's

Jester in 1921 and a humor writer of considerable talent for the full decade, has paid warm personal tribute to Held as a shaper of mores for Ford's generation:

Fitzgerald christened... the Jazz Age, but John Held, Jr. set its style and manners. His angular and scantily clad flapper was accepted by scandalized elders as the prototype of modern youth, the symbol of our moral revolution. Frankly I had never seen anything remotely resembling that fantastic female until Held's derisive pen portrayed her. My guess is that she sprang full-blown from his imagination: flat-chested, long spidery legs ending in stubby feet like hooves, her brief skirt riding high to reveal the rolled top of a stocking and a glimpse of flesh, cloche hat on close-bobbed hair, a precise dot of rouge below each cheekbone and a matching crimson mouth. Betty Co-Ed has lips of red for Hah-vud.

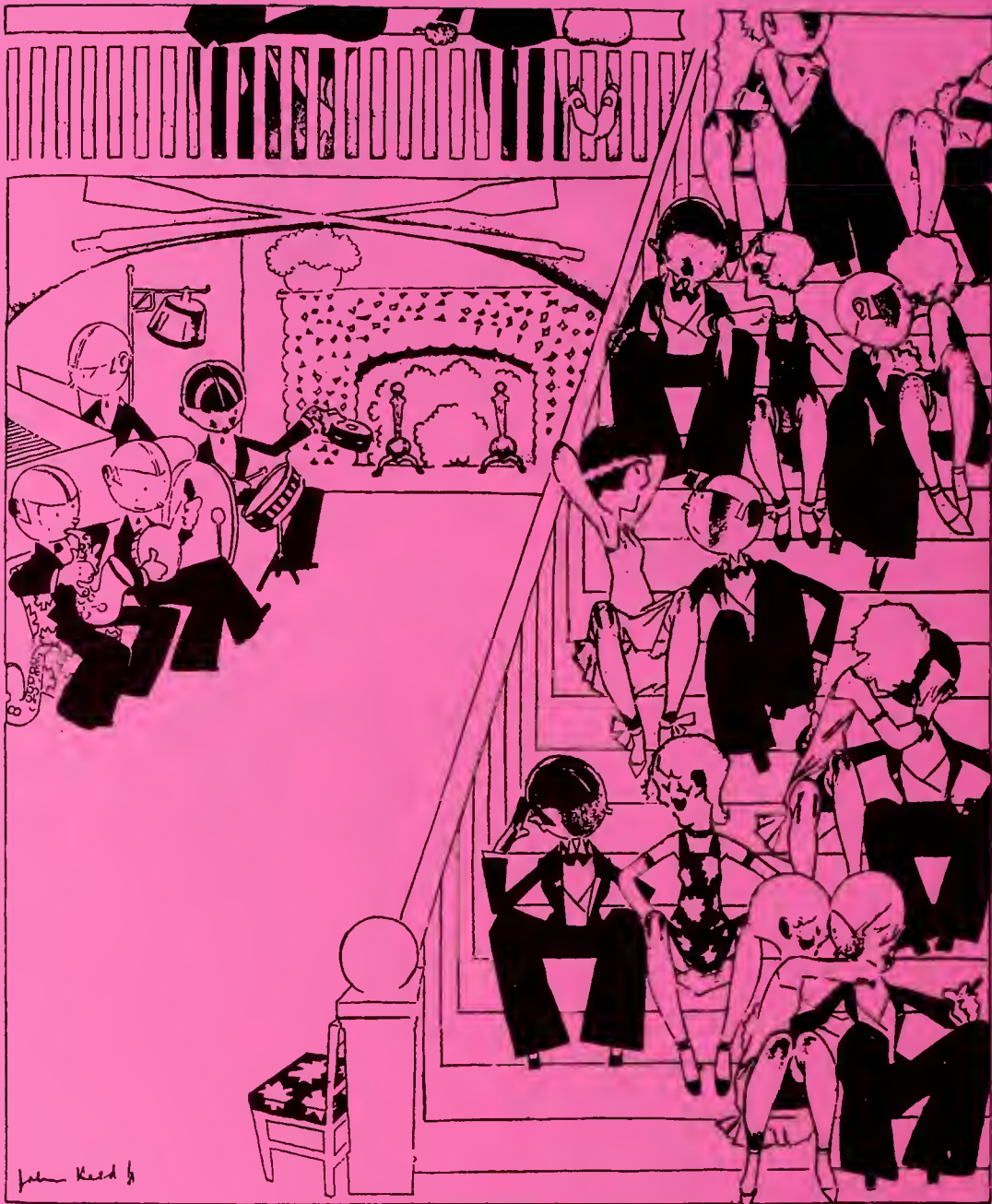
... We took his exaggerated cartoon types to heart and patterned ourselves on them. Each new Held drawing was pored over like a Paris fashion plate, girls cropped their hair and rouged their cheeks and shortened their skirts to be in style, galoshes and raccoon coats were indispensable to every male undergraduate wardrobe. So sedulously did we ape his caricatures that they lost their satiric point and came to be a documentary record of our times.

Nearly all present-day commentators relate Held only to the Jazz Age, but his reflections upon music were sharply divided into two distinct time periods, each demanding a different style within his art. The flaming youth of the 1920s called mainly for pen and ink line drawings. By contrast, the heroes and heroines in Held's Gilded Age art, as well as in the folksong books he illustrated, called for linoleum blockprints or pen drawings on scratchboard resembling "early" woodcuts. This use of an antique or pseudo-woodcut style was deliberately pegged to subject matter, but also was functional in New York's competitive art world of the 1920s. Held's style for flappers had been fixed in the public eye by his magazine work early in the decade. When his friend Harold Ross asked him to contribute to the "infant" New Yorker during 1925, Held turned to a sharply different melodramatic style combining satire and nostalgia. Frequently in this "old" work he identified himself, tongue-in-cheek, as "A sentimental Engraver" or "Engraved by John Held, Jr adveling into yesteryear."

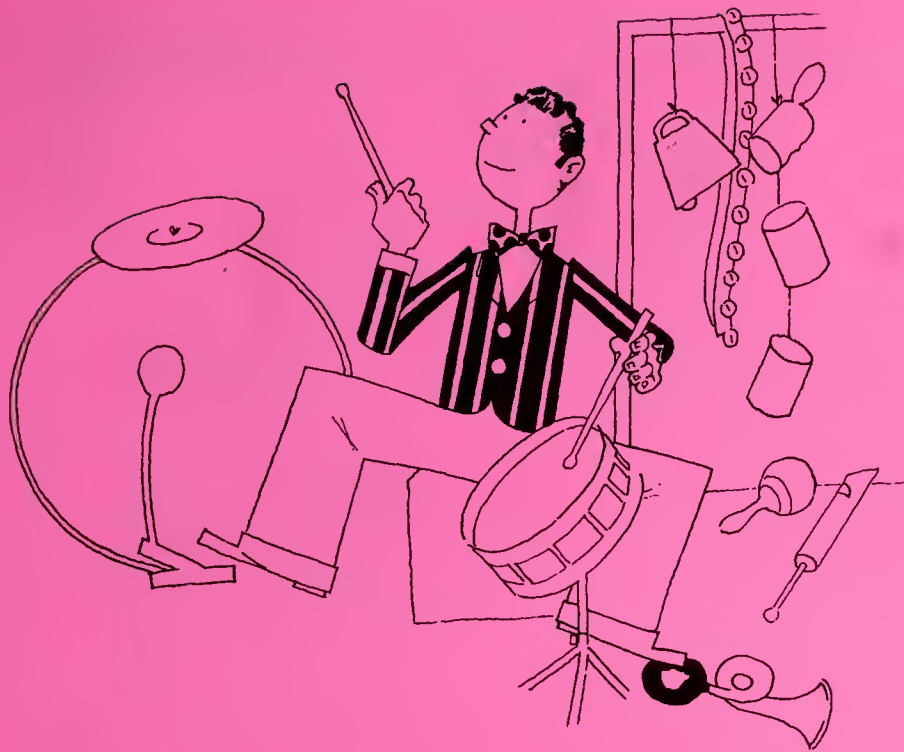
Eight "yesteryear" items are reproduced here which comment on music and drama. Pages are keyed to four books cited in an appended bibliography.

Frankie and Johnny	p. 29, <u>Frankie</u>
There are Songs..	end papers, <u>More</u>
Jesse James	140, <u>Works</u>
Casey Jones	151, <u>Works</u>



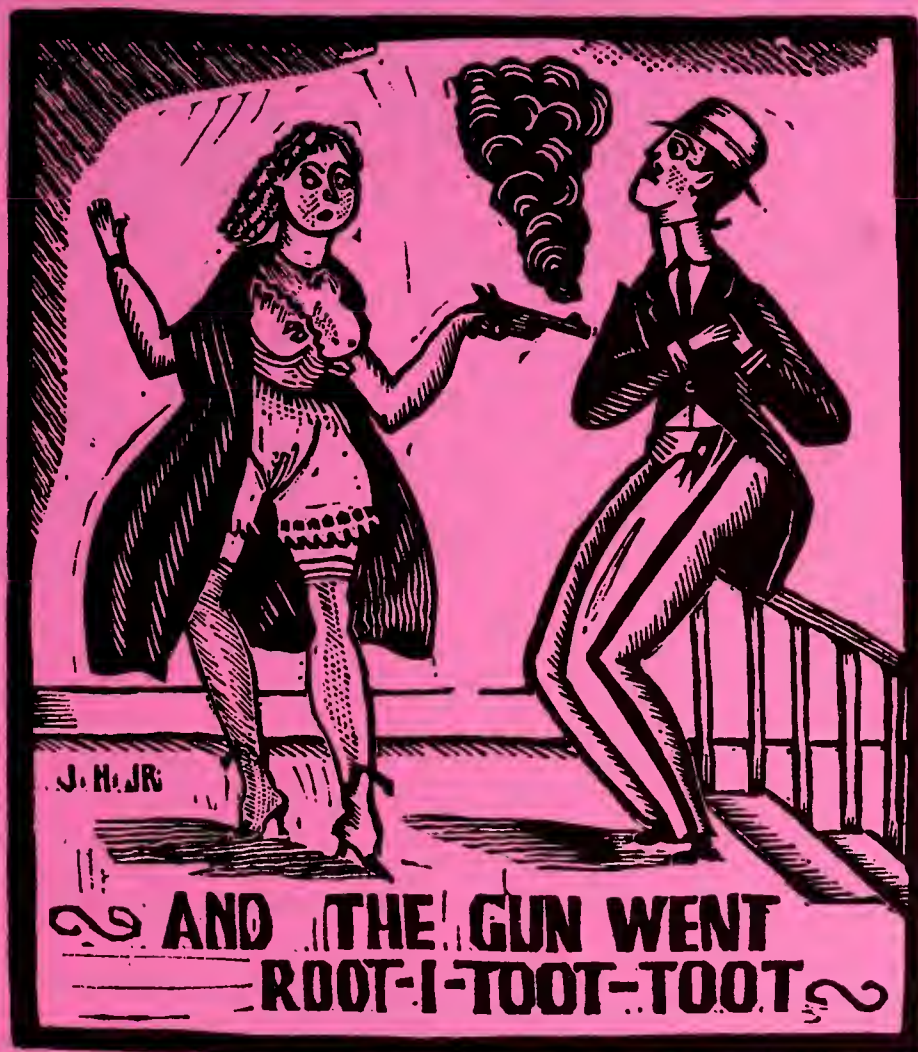


The Dance-Mad Younger Set



John Held Jr.





AND THE GUN WENT
ROOT-I-TOOT-TOOT



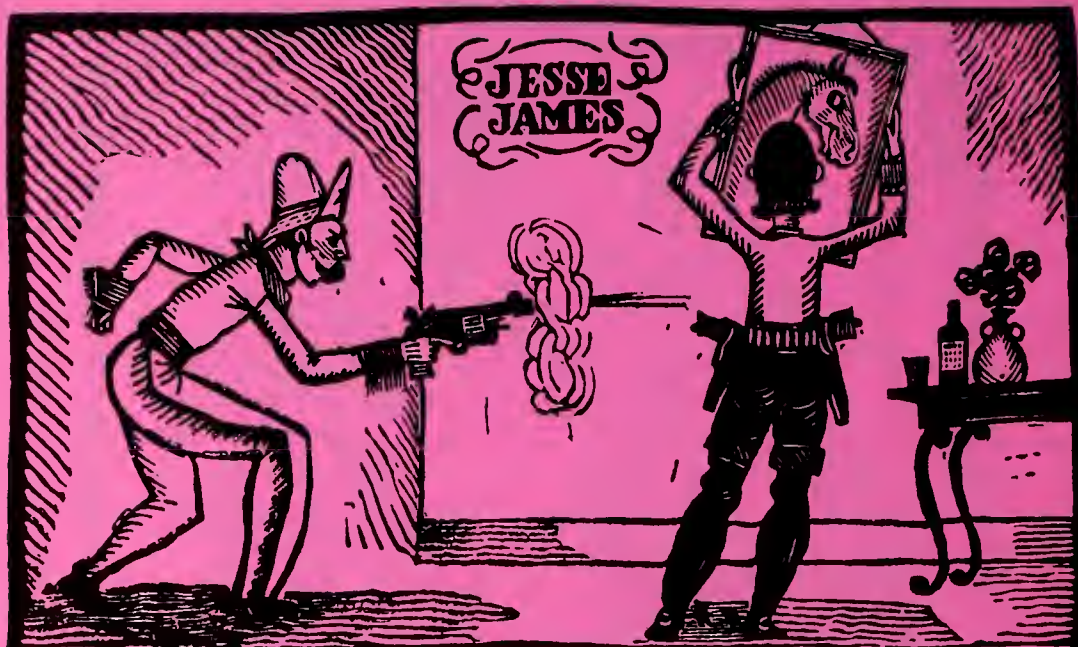
ENG.
BY



JOHN
HELD JR

"There ARE SONGS
THAT MAKE YOU HAPPY

There ARE SONGS
THAT MAKE YOU SAD"



BUT THAT DIRTY LITTLE COWARD,
 THAT SHOT MR. HOWARD,
 HAS LAID POOR JESSE IN HIS GRAVE
 AMERICAN FOLK SONG ENG. BY JOHN HELD JR. WITH A HI AND A HO



SHE SAID NOW CHILDREN
 STOP YOUR CRYIN'
 YOU'VE GOT ANOTHER
 DADDY ON THE SALT LAKE
 LINE
 AMERICAN FOLK SONG
 "CASEY JONES."
 ENG. BY JOHN HELD JR



JOHN HELD JR. ENGRAVER.

**"ROSES BRING MEM'RIES
and MEM'RIES MEAN YOU,"
SANG ZELMA the ZITHER Player**



LET 16 GAMBLERS COME CARRY MY COFFIN"

OLD REFRAIN ENGRAVED BY JOHN HELD JR

Meet Me in St. Louis	p. 147, <u>Works</u>
Jack Dalton and Damsel	47, <u>Follies</u>
Zelma the Zither Player	37, <u>Follies</u>
Let 16 Gamblers...	158, <u>My Pious</u>

The contrast between these eight and the six jazz items listed above is strong. If Held reduced his flappers to silhouetted abstractions, he drew their grandmothers as buxom, bustled, and wasp-waisted heroines. This contrast literally was one of garb--brief underwear versus heavy corset--but, of course, Held was concerned with sensibilities far beyond dress. In the 1920s, he was an active shaper of then-current strands of humor, but when he looked back to the close of the nineteenth century, he was not a direct participant. In his retrospective vision, Held sought absurd and pathetic situations, and presented them as a parodist. We can assert that Held was a superb caricaturist in all that he undertook, but that he cloaked himself in separate mantles as he shuttled between two eras. Our appreciation of his skill is enhanced when we know that he was a prodigious worker, who completed illustrations simultaneously in both styles to meet the demands of rival editors.

A word on the usage, "Gilded Age," is necessary at this juncture because it has not been applied previously to Held's "woodcuts." Mark Twain's first novel The Gilded Age (1873) was a portrait of bloated and vulgar life after the Civil War in Washington. Twain lampooned opulent tycoons and free-spending politicians alike; his title entered common speech to describe the last three decades of the nineteenth century. If we date the Gilded Age to the years 1876-1900, we suggest that it opened with the Philadelphia's Centennial Exposition's stress on technological progress. Also, these years included two specialized segments, the Mauve Decade and the Gay Nineties. We know that life was then infrequently cheerful for blacks and immigrants new to urban, industrial life; yet for many Americans this quarter century was truly abundant and expansive. New national magazines as diverse as Popular Science (1872), Scribner's (1887), and Vogue (1892), in colorful pictures and prose, proclaimed that convenience and elegance were at hand. President Cleveland, at the White House in 1893, by electric wire turned on all the white lights at Chicago's Columbian Exposition--some to light halls of glistening machinery, and some to light Little Egypt's belly-dancing "tent."

Although Held's burlesques in woodcut style are black and white, I believe that they reflect the gilt seen by Mark Twain as well as the lights turned on by Grover Cleveland. For those of Held's contemporaries to whom the decade of the 1920s was too disruptive (modern, fast, immoral), the near past in the Gilded Age seemed properly bright. There is no evidence that John Held, Jr. was ever mired in personal nostalgia for the close of the last century, nor that he rejected that special period with radical social criticism. His engravings were formal, structured, explicable, and obviously comic, yet they were not acid in

the tradition of Daumier, Hogarth, or Posada. Instead, Held's depiction of sin, drink, and poverty dissolved tragedy into bathos. Essentially, he mocked the festive Gilded Age and its Victorian morality to which many Americans attempted to "return" after World War One, when they could not accept the turbulence of the 1920s.

Because Held is valued today largely for his Jazz Age signposts, we know more about the evolution of his pen and ink style for vamps and parlor snakes than about the origin of the woodcut style for his early belles and beaux. I have been especially curious about Held's gilded people, for within the span of attention to their lives, he illustrated a series of folksong books. To place these contrastive styles and themes into a time frame, I note a few facts about the artist's life.

Born in Salt Lake City on 10 January 1889, Held received some formal art training from sculptor Mahonri Young, but also trained himself pragmatically as a sports cartoonist on the Salt Lake City Tribune. Still in his teens, Held sold his first work to Life (1904), and, like countless other creative youngsters, he journeyed to New York (1910) for both free-lance and ad-agency work. His flappers emerged gradually in the pages of Vanity Fair, and sister journals, after he was home from war service (1918). Held is often credited with "creating" the flapper, but he did not invent the word; it had been used in Northumbrian colloquial speech during the 1880s to describe young women who were unsteady, lacking in decorum, or indulging in vice. Carried to America, this pejorative term was made to order for the new Everywoman.

While Anita Loos asserted in the novel of that title that Gentlemen Prefer Blondes, and red-head Clara Bow flounced "It" on screen, Held also pictured his liberated flappers in provocative or foolish circumstances. Blonde, or otherwise, in her revealing skirts and swinging beads, she was compellingly vital in all her actions. Frequently, Held's cartoons used caption puns--word inversions which caught both the naivete and sophistication of his lads and lasses. Typical is his Life cover in watercolor, "The Faded Blonde" (11 August 1927), in which a winning flapper on her knees is rolling dice. The word-play caption, of course, comments on girl and game alike.

In summary, when Held is tied to the Jazz Age, we imply neither delineation of black musicians, downhome or uptown, nor even music in the hands of a Paul Whiteman or Bix Beiderbecke. Rather, we mean jazzy youth in caricatures which evolved early in the 1920s. The chronology for Held's Gilded Age art (also labeled "yesteryear," "pseudo-woodcut," "Gay Nineties") extends over a much longer time span than a decade. Richard Merkin has suggested that Held, early in 1925, had "concocted a melodramatic woodcut style" for Harold Ross at the New Yorker's inception, because the editor was apprehensive about repeating the already well-known flapper profile from established magazines. I believe this explanation is too compressed to be entirely accurate.

Ross and Held had been friends since school days in Salt Lake City, where both were cubs on the high school paper. While on Stars and Stripes in Paris, Ross began to dream of an innovative magazine, at once irreverent, elegant, and critical. Before he could actually launch the New Yorker, he edited in the early 1920s the prosaic American Legion Weekly, for which occasionally, to entertain the veterans, he purchased a Held cover drawing of flappers. Ross was eager to use Held in his new magazine (first issue: 21 February 1925), but in no position to generate immediately within his friend's mind a wholly new style nor an inclusive grasp of the ethos of a by-gone era.

In its natal year of 52 issues, the New Yorker featured 24 of Held's contributions, the first of which was "The Rumrunner's Sister-In-Law" on 11 April. However, the earliest dated example of this type, known to me, is "The Shotgun Wedding," which appeared on 30 May with the date of composition, 1923, blocked out. Subsequently, in The Works of John Held Jr this cartoon was republished with its original internal date retained. A close examination of Held's two dozen cuts for the New Yorker's first year, indicates that he had thought about his Gilded Age subjects and had completed several prints long before Harold Ross gave him an open platform.

My assumption of the gradual development of Held's "yesteryear" style is confirmed by Carl J. Weinhardt, Jr., of the Indianapolis Museum of Art, in The Most of John Held Jr (1972). Weinhardt carefully traced Held's Gay Nineties art to the influence of his father, a skilled printing tradesman and copperplate engraver as well as a cornetist and leader of a brass band. Hence, musical performance and woodcut technique were part of John's childhood learning experience. During his apprenticeship on the Salt Lake City Tribune, young Held experimented with satiric linoleum blockprint cartoons of low life in the city. His uncle Pierre, also a skilled mechanic and pioneer electrician, specialized in "doctoring" slot machines in the crib houses and gambling dens to which Utah's hardrock miners flocked. From time to time, John accompanied his uncle on work rounds, absorbing lore, in his own words, from "the whores, the pimps, the gamblers, the hop-heads and the lenient police," who had known "The Mormon Kid" during his "wild free existence" in Utah.

In his early years in New York (1910-1914), Held again took up linocut style and subjects, and executed a marvelous Frankie and Johnny series, described below. Also, Held used this same antique format to prepare work neither nostalgic nor satiric in tone. The earliest dated example, known to me, of such a representative print without a hint of parody is "Ship Bonita Salem," made in 1918 for an unpublished book. Weinhardt sums up Held's New Yorker debut in precise terms: Ross urged Held to return to the early blockprints of their youth. Already bored by stereotyped flappers, he turned to this "new" genre with

alacrity and brilliance, making his Gilded Age figures as memorable as those of the Jazz Age.

In the early New Yorker, Held was in magnificent artistic company: Rea Irvin, Helen Hokinson, Peter Arno, Ralph Barton, Miguel Covarrubias, Reginald Marsh. Each had chosen a section of Manhattan life for special attention in a contemporaneous style, but only Held looked back consistently to a past of ear-piercing, buggy stripping, bustle soldering, and corset lacing. In prints titled "Horse Whipping the Masher" and "The Soubrette Sings a Racy Song to the Man in the Box," he not only poked fun at vanished times but also established a scale against which to judge the "mashers" and "soubrettes" of the Jazz Age. Held's work in the New Yorker never seemed to be related to the magazine's reportage or reviews, but in time his own "thesis Americana" threaded individual engravings into categories, --for example, Wages of Sin, Theatre Fraught with Romance, Songs Without Music, Moments in the Faint Rosy Past, Morals for Young and Old.

While caught up by these sentiments, Held collaborated with Frank Shay for three song collections published by the Macaulay Company: My Pious Friends and Drunken Companions (1927), More Pious Friends and Drunken Companions (1928), Drawn from the Wood (1929). Frank Shay, a Greenwich Village bookseller and Cape Cod resident, was one of the informal band of scholars, writers, concert performers, and record company scouts who popularized folksong in the 1920s. Hence, Shay shared many roles with Robert Winslow Gordon, James Weldon Johnson, Carl Sandburg, John Lomax, and Ralph Peer. In his three anthologies, Shay freely mixed traditional ballads, sentimental ditties, and hoary chestnuts --at times offering valuable folksong variants from his own wanderings (the Canadian Rockies, a Standard Oil tanker, army camps in France). For these books, Held brought together cuts from the New Yorker and other sources. I do not know how long Held continued as "an engraver of yesteryear," but some of the best work in this vein was newly prepared for James Geller's Grandfather's Follies (1934), an easygoing commentary on nineteenth century melodrama.

I have not encountered any correspondence by either Shay or Held about their songbooks, or business records of the Macaulay firm on these three anthologies, and would welcome reference to such material. At one level, to the consternation of scholars, Shay cheerfully jumbled folk and Tin Pan Alley material; at another level, he helped widen the audience for American folksong. Held was also free in his labels, indiscriminately using phrases such as "American folk song," "old song," "old ballad," or "a song from the dear dim past."

Frank Shay was not unlearned in matters of categorization, for in the preface to My Pious Friends . . . he anticipated that symphony music lovers would dismiss his songs and ballads of conviviality. Further, he wrote, "The folk-lorist will dismiss them with the phrases profane and vulgar. To him they are but the product of low resorts, gutter songs, the communal musical expression of an

artistically destitute society." It seems unnecessary today to be reminded that the lore of "destitute society" is often both rich and telling. Dialogue between Frank Shay and his academic peers about song can be documented, but because commentary on artistic depiction of folksong is virtually nonexistent, I doubt that any folklorist ever discussed Held's "woodcuts" when they were current.

One of Held's picture books, The Saga of Frankie and Johnny, deserves fresh scholarly attention. It was issued in December 1930, by Walter V. McKee of New York in a limited edition of 2500 copies, fifty of which were bound with extra illustrations. Carl Weinhardt has dated the execution of these linocuts to about 1914 in New York. I would be pleased to learn whether or not Held tried to publish his folksong book before 1930, and the circumstances of McKee's eventual acceptance of the manuscript.

Held needed no collaborator for this traditional narrative stemming from a murder in a St. Louis bordello on 15 October 1899. In a short preface he confessed that he had learned Frankie and Johnny in Utah from "a colored piano player, who was called 'Professor' in a parlor house" belonging to Madam Helen Blazes. As a boy John had delivered, to various parlors of joy, business cards engraved in his father's shop. For each of the ballad's stanzas he prepared a full-page "woodcut," twenty-three in all, embellishing other pages with some two dozen small prints. During February 1954, in its third issue, Playboy magazine reproduced twelve of Held's Frankie and Johnny cuts, placing the ballad's characters in fully appropriate company. Fortunately, the whole book was reproduced in 1972 by offset lithography, and it is currently available from publisher Clarkson Potter of New York.

Very few American folksongs have inspired whole sequences or cycles of visual art. Thomas Hart Benton, beginning about 1927, made a handful of oil paintings and lithographs based on specific traditional ballads and fiddle tunes; Miguel Covarrubias illustrated Frankie and Johnny in the form of a printed play by John Huston (1930); Palmer Hayden placed the John Henry narrative in twelve strong paintings between 1944-1954. However, John Held, Jr., anticipated all of these efforts. Can we identify other American folksongs in graphic art before Held turned to Frankie and Johnny about 1914?

A few technical points may help readers and viewers who come to Held anew. The word "woodcut" is used ambiguously in commentary on his work. Held clearly learned engraving and woodcutting from his father, and, as a boy, worked in this medium "for the Politz Candy Kitchen on Main Street" (Salt Lake City in about 1900-1904). In 1905 on the Tribune he started cartooning with linoleum blockprints on linocuts, a method to which he later turned for Frankie and Johnny. His early New Yorker work was also in the form of linocuts, but some of the later cartoons for this magazine were rendered in pen on

scratchboard--a technique faster than linoleum engraving. Although Held rigorously kept his "past" and "present" work apart, in 1931 he offered a series of unusual single-page pairings to Liberty magazine, placing an "old" scratchboard piece and a "new" pen and ink piece together to demonstrate thematic and stylistic contrast.

A word on size: Held's reproductions in books and magazines were generally reduced in size, for example, "Jesse James," a small linocut in the New Yorker (29 September 1928) was 14" x 11 3/4" in original measurement. During the 1960s a number of "large" prints were hand pulled from original linoleum blocks and sold in New York galleries at handsome prices. Finally, a comment on "woodcut" sources: Held was largely self taught, but his Gilded Age art was centered in the genre of early English chapbooks, cheap broadside ballads, sensational almanac illustrations, and lurid theater posters. We need considerable analysis of Held's place in the tradition of ephemeral broadside art.

In selecting but a few examples of Held's musical graphics, I have neglected the sweep and depth of his life. In the 1930s, with the Jazz Age behind him, he turned to writing, to animal painting and sculpture, to work in wrought iron, and to farming. Something of his life is reported in the various books, articles, and exhibit catalogs cited below. However, no comprehensive biography of him is yet available.

Margaret Held, his widow, in a 1964 sketch touched on several details concerning Held's early interest in music and drama. Young John's mother, Annie Evans Held, had been an actress in the Salt Lake Theater where her father was the stage carpenter. Thus, John actually saw some of the melodrama he later recalled in scratchboard drawings for Grandfather's Follies. John Shuttleworth, an editor of Judge in the 1920s, recalls his friend Held as a banjo picker, mandolinist, and folksinger. This latter attribute was also reported in a Vanity Fair note on Held's novel, Grim Youth (1930). Not only was the versatile artist commended as a gentleman farmer, but he was praised, as well, as an "unrivaled tap dancer" and "singer of cowboy laments." To close, we need only add that this Utah-born singer of cowboy laments died at Schuyler Farm near Belmar, New Jersey, on 2 May 1958.

In demarcating Held's art by era, I have not suggested that one period was superior to the other. His stamp upon the Jazz Age is indelible. While his evocation of gilt and gaslight makes a fine comment on American life, it is not essential for comprehending the Gilded Age. As a folklorist I am pulled to both ages depicted by Held. We no longer know whether jazz is folk or chamber music, and we have surprisingly little folkloric study of the journey made by jazz away from its home base. Held did not focus closely on this journey or on the nuances of jazz performance in the 1920s, but his art, now, does help all of us see music as a key symbol for a past decade.

Conversely, Held's "woodcuts" helped bring to life the stories within particular folksongs, but he

did not create special symbols to mark Gilded Age music. Through Held's lens, today, we see these songs as appealing but distant, suggestive but safe. Even when he illustrated some of Frank Shay's risqué songs, Held bathed them in a wholesome light. The analogy which comes to mind is Carl Sandburg, on stage when the Shay-Held anthologies appeared. There was no way that Sandburg could dress a song up or down to cheapen it or to destroy its core emotion. Likewise, the ruffles and flourishes which Held placed in engravings did not detract from the basic content and message of his songs.

I am keenly aware as a ballad scholar in the 1970s of difficulties in looking back at folksong art of the 1920s. We assert today that folksong is best presented on concert stage or festival circuit with respect for its native esthetic. (With others I had advanced this "straight code" during the 1960s, for presentations from Carnegie Hall to Berkeley's Greek Theater.) Nevertheless, present-day questions which trouble me are: Must an artist be as realistic and factual in his visual depictions as an outsider should be in concert presentation? How can we shape an appropriate norm for evaluating any artistic depiction of folksong? One such standard was established as early as 1889 by Thomas Eakins in his quiet and realistic portraits of cowboy musicians. Another was set in the mid-1920s by Miguel Covarrubias' broad caricatures of blues singers in Harlem. Still another is found in the pastel shades and bogus sentimentality of Alice and Martin Provensen's

work for the Fireside Book of Folk Song (1947). A fourth norm appears in Ben Shahn's near-mystical ballad booklets such as The Cherry Tree Legend (1953).

Ultimately, we respond to any artist's work in terms of competence and craftsmanship, as well as of our own sense of meaning within subject matter and style. Looking at Held's "woodcuts" today, I feel close to his musical companions: Frankie and Johnny, Jesse James, Casey Jones' wife, sailors returned from the sea, coffin-carrying gamblers, grog-house and pawn-shop sots. I like his soulful zither players and his romantic guitarists, as well as his smug listeners to "newfangled" cylinder records. I am not aware of any personal nostalgia for the world of Diamond Jim Brady and Lillian Russell, or Admiral Dewey and Anna Held, but I am conscious of continuity and constancy in Held's ballad heroes and heroines.

John Held, Jr., did not view his parents' years (nor his childhood) in mordant terms, nor did he reduce Gilded Age culture to treacle. He helped Americans during the Jazz Age to define their particular time and to appreciate their near past. But his sheiks and shebas, so modern in the 1920s, are now as distant from us as the Gay Nineties were to Held's collegiate fans. Today, all of his figures--thin and full, new and old--are part of a shared national past. Held's caricatures of flappers and their escorts as well as of belles and their beaux continue to function for us as we look ahead to the twenty-first century, still encumbered by the nineteenth.

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RECORD REVIVALS AS BAROMETERS OF SOCIAL CHANGE: THE HISTORICAL USE OF CONTEMPORARY AUDIO RESOURCES

By B. Lee Cooper

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Since 1950 a radical transformation has occurred in the recording industry; the ramifications of this rapid evolution can be traced through the changing lyrics and singing styles of numerous performers over the past quarter of a century. During the mid-fifties, for instance, several small, independent record companies such as Duke, National, Peacock, Savoy, King, Federal, Aladdin, and Specialty successfully challenged the monopolistic capitalism which had been practiced for three decades by major recording corporations such as Decca, Mercury, RCA Victor, and Columbia. Thanks to the increasing pluralism in the musical tastes among young record buyers, the era of "race record" segregation collapsed in nearly every arena of the American music industry, leading to the eventual rise of black superstars, black managers, and black moguls. During the same twenty-five year period an audio-visual revolution generated the transistorized radio components, the high quality speakers, the multi-track recording tapes, the powerful amplifiers, and the other rudiments of the contemporary sound explosion. The music industry also witnessed (and some say fostered) the rise of a counter-cultural matrix of folk/jazz/rock/country/blues singers who, through their distinctive verbal cues, dance steps, and dress codes, in turn affected the advertising, political, and entertainment worlds.

Studying the meaning of cover recordings and record revivals in the popular music field offers new and exciting resources for history instruction. The complex elements related to racial integration, social change, and political protest are amply illustrated in the evolutionary popularity of particular songs. For example, the revival of Bob Dylan's folk protest song "Blowin' In The Wind" by Peter, Paul, and Mary in 1963 not only heightened public interest in Dylan but also helped to launch a decade of criticism about political hypocrisy and governmental ineptitude. Similarly, strong and often conflicting attitudes about topics including the war in Southeast Asia, sex roles, educational practices, and ecological activities have dominated the lyrics of popular songs over the past fifteen years. Historian-literary scholar Russel B. Nye has convincingly argued in *The Unembarrassed Muse* (1970) that the popular arts offer students and teachers vital, legitimate evidence in contemporary man's search for meaning. High school and college history students can benefit by joining popular culture analysts in pursuing answers to an apparently simple question - "Why do contemporary music performers so frequently choose to revive songs which have been previously released by other recording artists?" The search for potential answers to this query can provide novel and stimulating classroom exercise. The potential responses outlined below only begin to suggest the variety of social changes, factors which a history teacher can explore with a group of highly motivated young researchers.

I. FINANCIAL EXPLOITATION

The path to popular music success for black performers was extremely difficult during the 1950s. Unless they were willing to adopt a middle-of-the-road singing style similar to that of Nat "King" Cole, most black vocalists found themselves isolated from the dominant recording companies and thus separated from the majority of the record-buying public. Worse yet, when a black artist developed an original, potentially successful tune through a small, independent recording outfit, white artists hurriedly supplied the record purchasing audience with a more acceptable "cover" version of the same tune. As several scholars have noted, not all black artists were co-opted; however, there were more than enough instances of this phenomenon to confirm the suspicion that prejudice, plagiarism, and financial exploitation were central factors in American recording industry practices between 1950-1956.

- A. An attempt to drain a majority of the prospective sales dollars from a recording released by a relatively obscure performer's version of a song by immediately "covering" his or her release.

1. "Cindy, Oh Cindy" Vince Martin and The Tarriers (Glory Records 10-3-1956)
Eddie Fisher (RCA Records 10-3-1956)
 2. "Eddie My Love" Teen Queens (RMP Records 2-22-1956)
The Chordettes (Cadence Records 2-29-1956)
The Fontane Sisters (Dot Records 2-29-1956)
 3. "I'm in Love Again" Fats Domino (Imperial Records 4-18-1956)
Fontane Sisters (Dot Records 5-16-1956)
 4. "(My Heart Goes) Ka-Ding-Dong" The G-Clefs (Pilgrim Records 7-18-1956)
The Diamonds (Mercury Records 8-29-1956)
The Hilltoppers (Dot Records 9-5-1956)
 5. "Long Tall Sally" Little Richard (Specialty Records 3-28-1956)
Pat Boone (Dot Records 4-4-1956)
 6. "Rip It Up" Little Richard (Specialty Records 6-27-1956)
Bill Haley and The Comets (Decca Records 8-1-1956)
 7. "Silhouettes" The Rays (Cameo Records 10-5-1957)
The Diamonds (Mercury Records 11-2-1957)
 8. "Why Do Fools Fall in Love" Frankie Lymon and The Teenagers (Gee Records 2-1-1956)
Gale Storm (Dot Records 2-22-1956)
- B. The desire to transform a song which has attracted positive attention from a limited audience -- such as a recording which has been aired exclusively on a black-oriented rhythm and blues radio station -- into a nationwide hit.
1. "At My Front Door" The El Dorados (Vee Jay Records - 1955)
Pat Boone (Dot Records - 1955)
 2. "Crying in the Chapel" The Orioles (Jubilee Records - 1953)
June Valli (RCA Victor Records - 1953)
Rex Allen (Decca Records - 1953)
 3. "Earth Angel" The Penguins (Dooto Records - 1954)
The Crew Cuts (Mercury Records - 1954)
 4. "Goodnight, Sweetheart, Goodnight" The Spaniels (Vee Jay Records - 1954)
The McGuire Sisters (Coral Records - 1954)
 5. "I'll Be Home" The Flamingos (Checker Records - 1956)
Pat Boone (Dot Records - 1956)
 6. "Love, Love, Love" The Clovers (Atlantic Records - 1956)
The Diamonds (Mercury Records - 1956)
 7. "See Saw" The Moonglows (Chess Records - 1956)
Don Cornell (Coral Records - 1956)
 8. "Sh-Boom" The Chords (Cat Records - 1954)
The Crew Cuts (Mercury Records - 1954)
 9. "A Story Untold" The Nutmegs (Herald Records - 1955)
The Crew Cuts (Mercury Records - 1955)
- C. An attempt to piggy-back a hit recording by a prominent rock figure or group, but with the objective of gaining a sales advantage by appealing to a middle-of-the-road (M-O-R) listening public.
1. "Bad, Bad Leroy Brown" Jim Croce (ABC Records - 1973)
Frank Sinatra (Reprise Records - 1974)
 2. "Groovin'" Rascals (Atlantic Records - 1967)
Booker T and the MG's (Stax Records - 1967)
 3. "I Want to Hold Your Hand" The Beatles (Capitol Records - 1964)
Boston Pops Orchestra (RCA Records - 1964)
 4. "I'm Walkin'" Fats Domino (Imperial Records - 1957)
Ricky Nelson (Verve Records - 1957)
 5. "The 'In' Crowd" Dobie Gray (Charger Records - 1965)
Ramsey Lewis Trio (Argo Records - 1965)

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| 6. "Scarborough Fair" | Simon and Garfunkel (Columbia Records - 1968)
Sergio Mendes and Brasil '66 (A & M Records - 1968) |
| 7. "Slippin' Into Darkness" | War (United Artists Records - 1972)
Ramsey Lewis Trio (Columbia Records - 1972) |
| 8. "Soul Man" | Sam and Dave (Stax Records - 1967)
Ramsey Lewis Trio (Cadet Records - 1967) |

II. SOCIAL COMMENTARY

Although the most blatant examples of white-over-black record covering activities ended after 1956, the practice of altering the lyrics of popular songs in the hope of satisfying contemporary audiences continues even to the present day. Historically, this alteration approach was also spawned during the Eisenhower years. One reason why most radio stations refused to play (hence the public failed to purchase) some black record releases of the mid-1950s was the earthy, risqué, off-color comments and explicit sexual implications included in the lyrics. At least two different examples can be used to illustrate this situation. In 1954 Hank Ballard and the Midnighters recorded on the Federal Label several suggestive songs--including "Work With Me Annie" and "Annie Had A Baby"--about the exploits of a notorious and promiscuous young lady. The explicit nature of her relationships with her male courtiers was too vivid for the public airwaves. However, the catchy rhythm of Ballard's "Annie" songs led a black female artist to produce a song entitled "The Wallflower" which eliminated much of the direct sexual commentary while serving as an "answer" to Ballard's original number. The success of Etta James' "Wallflower" then prompted the Mercury Recording Company staff writers to edit out all her suggestive lyrics in order to produce a bouncy, wholesome song entitled "Dance With Me Henry." Thus white pop singer Georgia Gibbs produced a kingsized hit in 1955 while Hank Ballard's tunes and Etta James' song continued to appeal to only a relatively small "race record" audience. Another case of lyric alteration occurred in relation to one of the most famous early rock n' roll songs, "Shake, Rattle, and Roll." This song, as performed by Joe Turner for Atlantic Records in 1954, describes in detail the sheerness of a woman's nightgown ("...the sun comes shinin' through") and her enticing physical endowments ("...I can't believe that whole mess is you.") With slight line changes, Bill Haley and the Comets succeeded in transforming Turner's minimally successful Atlantic recording into a smash hit for Decca.

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| A. The need to eliminate, or at least to tone down, objectionable lyrics in a potential hit song in order to appeal to a nationwide listening audience. | |
| 1. Etta James
Georgia Gibbs | "The Wallflower" (Modern Records - 1955)
"Dance With Me, Henry" (Mercury Records - 1955) |
| 2. Joe Turner
Bill Haley and The Comets | "Shake, Rattle, and Roll" (Atlantic Records - 1954)
"Shake, Rattle, and Roll" (Decca Records - 1955) |
| B. The desire to increase the sexual imagery in a song's lyrics in order to increase public curiosity and interest in a recording. | |
| 1. Chuck Berry
Chuck Berry | "Reelin' and Rockin'" (Chess Records - 1958)
"Reelin' and Rockin'" (Chess Records - 1972) |

Other kinds of lyric alterations have been utilized to call attention to historic and present-day social injustices. In 1972 Roberta Flack interrupted her bluesy version of "Somewhere" with the cry--"This ain't no Westside Story"--to emphasize the reality of racial inequality in New York City. Curtis Mayfield, in his 1972 "live" performance album, added several lines of rambling social commentary about alleged 1967 disc jockey and radio station management censorship which was exercised toward the Impressions' hit song "We're a Winner." And Solomon Burke converted the Creedence Clearwater Revival's tale of youthful travel aboard the Mississippi sternwheeler "Proud Mary" into an attack against slavery and the post-Civil War caste system of black servitude.

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| C. An effort to heighten audience awareness of the social implications or political connotations of a particular song by altering the lyrics or adding new commentary to the original version of a number. | |
| 1. Richard Beymer and Natalie Wood

Roberta Flack | "Somewhere" (from <i>West Side Story</i> , Columbia Records LP - OL 5670)
"Somewhere" (from <i>Newport in New York '72: The Soul Sessions</i> , Cobblestone Records LP - CST 9028) |

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| 2. | The Impressions
Curtis Mayfield | "We're A Winner" (ABC Records - 1967)
"We're A Winner" (from <i>Curtis/Live!</i> , Custom Records LP - CRS 8006 - 1972) |
| 3. | Creedence Clearwater Revival
Solomon Burke | "Proud Mary" (Fantasy Records - 1969)
"Proud Mary" (Bell Records - 1969) |

Most people are familiar with the so-called "Answer Song" which generally utilizes new lyrics with the familiar tune of a pop hit to deliver a response to the personal plea or social statement of the original artist. The classic example of this revival approach is Damita Jo's "I'll Save the Last Dance For You" promise to the Drifters. However, one illustration of this approach deserves special recognition. It stems from the peculiar talent of the Beatles to transform the common into the unique. Each member of the British quartet has at one time or another acknowledged his respect for the song-writing talents of Chuck Berry. In his honor, with the ironic Beatle twist, they remade his song "Back in the U.S.A." Humorously, they changed the words, though, and produced the rocking saga of a homesick Russian comrade in "Back in the U.S.S.R." This type of satirical remake is as rare as the talents of Berry and the Beatles.

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| D. An attempt to satirize a social or political theme which was presented in a hit recording by altering the lyrics or constructing an "answer" song in response to the original record. | | |
| 1. | Chuck Berry
The Beatles | "Back in the U.S.A." (Chess Records - 1959)
"Back in the U.S.S.R." (Capitol Records - 1969) |
| 2. | Shangri Las
The Detergents | "Leader of the Pack" (Red Bird Records - 1964)
"Leader of the Laundromat" (Roulette Records - 1964) |
| 3. | Roger Miller
Jody Miller | "King of the Road" (Smash Records - 1965)
"Queen of the House" (Capitol Records - 1965) |
| 4. | Original Cast

The Carefreeds | "We Love You Conrad" (from the musical comedy <i>Bye Bye Birdie</i> - 1960)
"We Love You Beatles" (London Records - 1964) |
| 5. | Willie Mae "Big Mama" Thornton
Rufus Thomas | "Hound Dog" (Peacock Records - 1953)
"Bear Cat" (Sun Records - 1953) |
| 6. | Barry McGuire
The Spokesman | "Eve of Destruction" (Dunhill Records - 1965)
"Dawn of Correction" (Decca Records - 1965) |
| 7. | Petula Clark
Allan Sherman | "Downtown" (Warner Brothers Records - 1964)
"Crazy Downtown" (Warner Brothers Records - 1965) |

III. MUSICAL CREATIVITY

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| A. A desire to introduce a new rhythm pattern or a stylistic "Now Sound" to an established hit tune. | | |
| 1. | "Baby It's You" | The Shirelles (Scepter Records - 1960)
Smith (Dunhill Records - 1969) |
| 2. | "Blue Moon" | Elvis Presley (RCA Records 1956)
The Marcells (Colpix Records - 1961) |
| 3. | "Bridge Over Troubled Water" | Simon and Garfunkel (Columbia Records - 1970)
Aretha Franklin (Atlantic Records - 1971) |
| 4. | "Cry Me a River" | Julie London (A & M Records - 1970)
Joe Cocker (A & M Records - 1970) |
| 5. | "Great Balls of Fire" | Jerry Lee Lewis (Sun Records - 1957)
Tiny Tim (Reprise Records - 1969) |
| 6. | "Hooked on a Feeling" | B. J. Thomas (Scepter Records - 1968)
Blue Swede (EMI Records - 1974) |
| 7. | "(I Know) I'm Losing You" | The Temptations (Gordy Records - 1966)
Rare Earth (Rare Earth Records - 1970)
Rod Stewart (Mercury Records - 1971) |
| 8. | "Light My Fire" | The Doors (Elektra Records - 1967)
Joe Feliciano (RCA Victor Records - 1968) |
| 9. | "Never Can Say Goodbye" | The Jackson Five (Motown Records - 1971) |

Isaac Hayes (Enterprise Records - 1971)
Gloria Gaynor (MGM Records - 1974)

10. "Smoke Gets in Your Eyes" The Platters (Mercury Records - 1958)
Blue Haze (A & M Records - 1972)
- B. To allow a recording artist to demonstrate stylistic change or increased vocal or instrumental sophistication in respect to one of his or her "standard" songs.
 1. "Breaking Up is Hard to Do" Neil Sedaka (RCA Records - 1962)
Neil Sedaka (Rocket Records - 1976)
 2. "Cross Cut Saw" Albert King (traditional version on *Born Under A Bad Sign*, Stax LP 723 - 1967)
Albert King (contemporary version on *I Wanna Get Funky*, Stax LP 5505 - 1974)
 3. "Hoochie Coochie Man" Muddy Waters (traditional version on *Heavy Heads*, Chess LP - 1522)
Muddy Waters (contemporary version on *Electric Mud*, Cadet Concept LP - 314)
 4. "(We're Gonna) Rock Around the Clock" Bill Haley and The Comets (Decca Records - 1955)
Bill Haley and The Comets (MCA Records - 1974)
 5. "I Saw Her Standing There" The Beatles (Capitol Records - 1964)
John Lennon, with the Elton John Band (MCA Records - 1975)

IV. ARTISTIC TRIBUTE

- A. An instrumental arrangement and presentation of a vocal recording which has previously been a national hit.
 1. "Along Comes Mary" The Association (Valiant Records - 1966)
The Baja Marimba Band (A & M Records - 1967)
 2. "Blue Moon" Elvis Presley (RCA Records - 1956)
The Ventures (Dolton Records - 1961)
 3. "Don't Be Cruel" Elvis Presley (RCA Records - 1956)
Bill Black's Combo (Hi Records - 1960)
 4. "Get Ready" The Temptations (Gordy Records - 1966)
King Curtis and the Kingpins - 1970)
 5. "Hang On Sloopy" The McCoys (Bang Records - 1965)
Ramsey Lewis Trio (Cadet Records - 1965)
 6. "I Got A Woman" Ray Charles (Atlantic Records - 1955)
Jimmy McGriff (Sue Records - 1963)
 7. "Roll Over Beethoven" Chuck Berry (Chess Records - 1956)
The Electric Light Orchestra (United Artists - 1973)
- B. A vocal revival of a hit "standard" which is publicly associated with a particular recording artist or singing group.
 1. "Ain't Too Proud to Beg" The Temptations (Gordy Records - 1966)
The Rolling Stones (Rolling Stone Records - 1974)
 2. "Blue Suede Shoes" Carl Perkins (Sun Records - 1956)
Johnny Rivers (United Artists Records - 1973)
 3. "Everybody Needs Somebody to Love" Solomon Burke (Atlantic Records - 1964)
Wilson Pickett (Atlantic Records - 1967)
 4. "Help Me, Rhonda" The Beach Boys (Capitol Records - 1965)
Johnny Rivers (Epic Records - 1975)
 5. "I'm a Man" Bo Diddley (Checker Records - 1955)
The Yardbirds (Epic Records - 1965)
 6. "Rock and Roll Music" Chuck Berry (Chess Records - 1957)
The Beach Boys (Brothers/Reprise Records - 1976)
 7. "Roll Over Beethoven" Chuck Berry (Chess Records - 1956)
The Beatles (Capitol Records - 1964)

8. "(I Can't Get No) Satisfaction" The Rolling Stones (London Records - 1965)
Otis Redding (Volt Records - 1966)
 9. "Shake" Sam Cooke (RCA Victor Records - 1965)
Otis Redding (Volt Records - 1967)
- C. The practice of releasing a song which has achieved the status of a "Rock Standard" in order to sustain a nationally-known singer's career between original hit tunes.
1. "Handy Man" Jimmy Jones (Cub Records - 1960)
James Taylor (Warner Brothers Records - 1977)
 2. "Only You" The Platters (Mercury Records - 1955)
Ringo Starr (Apple Records - 1974)
 3. "Please Mr. Postman" The Marvelettes (Tamla Records - 1961)
The Carpenters (A & M Records - 1974)
 4. "Pledging My Love" Johnny Ace (Duke Records - 1955)
Elvis Presley (RCA Records - 1977)
 5. "Since I Met You Baby" Ivory Joe Hunter (Atlantic Records - 1956)
Freddy Fender (GRT Records - 1975)
 6. "Stagger Lee" Lloyd Price (ABC Records - 1958)
Wilson Pickett (Atlantic Records - 1967)
 7. "Stand By Me" Ben E. King (Records - 1961)
John Lennon (Apple Records - 1975)
 8. "Summertime Blues" Eddie Cochran (Liberty Records - 1958)
The Who (Decca Records - 1970)

No single record album or pre-constructed audio teaching aid currently on the market can provide the song-by-song comparisons suggested above. The eighteen albums listed at the end of this essay should be considered as primary source material for initiating this instructional approach. But a resourceful historian can go even further to unearth appropriate teaching materials. Additional recordings can be solicited from students, from teaching colleagues, from local radio broadcasters, and from stereo buffs in the community. Of course, the most complete, systematically-organized and professionally administered collection of popular music assembled for scholarly use is available in the Audio Center in the Bowling Green State University Library. Any teacher who needs a series of contemporary songs taped for classroom use may contact Mr. William Schurk and his professional staff for recording assistance.

Several prominent historians, including Richard Resh (*Black America*, 1969), Thomas R. Frazier (*The Private Side of American History*, 1975), and Leonard Dinnerstein and Kenneth T. Jackson (*American Vistas*, 1975), have included popular culture essays by William L. O'Neill, Ulf Hannerz, Claude Brown, and Jerome L. Rodnitzky in their history survey course anthologies. Obviously, these historians feel that it is mandatory to have students examine scholarly interpretations about the relationship between modern music and social movements. But it is still the responsibility of the individual teachers to translate the written messages of these essays into instructional materials. By employing the resources outlined above, a history instructor can generate student involvement in the investigation of contemporary social and political issues through popular music.

SUGGESTED AUDIO RESOURCES

Cruisin' 1955: A History of Rock N' Roll Radio (IN 2000). Produced by Increase Records, 1972. Distributed by Chess Records, 1301 Avenue of the Americas, New York City 10019. One record, 33-1/3 rpm. (Featuring Fats Domino, The Penguins, The Charms, Chuck Berry, and The Platters.)

Echoes of a Rock Era: The Early Years (RE 111). Produced by Roulette Records, Inc., 1971. Distributed by Roulette Records, Inc., 17 West 60th Street, New York City 10023. Two records, 33-1/3 rpm. (Featuring The Moonglows, Chuck Willis, Frankie Lyman and The Teenagers, Sonny Til and The Orioles, and The Cadillacs.)

History of Rhythm and Blues, 1947-1967, 8 vols. (SD 8161/8162/8163/8164/8193/8194/8208/8209). Produced by the Atlantic Recording Corporation, 1968, 1969. Distributed by the Atlantic Recording Corporation, 1841 Broadway, New York City 10023. Eight records, 33-1/3 rpm. (Featuring Aretha Franklin, Wilson Pickett, Otis Redding, The Coasters, The Drifters, Bobby Darin, and Ben E. King.)

Pop Origins (Chess 1544). Produced by Chess Records, 1970. Distributed by Chess Records, Chicago, Illinois 60616. One record, 33-13/ rpm. (Featuring Chuck Berry, Bo Diddley, Howlin' Wolf, Muddy Waters, and Dale Hawkins.)

Rock Begins, 2 vols. (Sd 314/315). Produced by ATCO Records, 1970. Distributed by the Atlantic Recording Corporation, 1841 Broadway, New York City 10023. Two records, 33-1/3 rpm. (Featuring

The Chords, Joe Turner, Clyde McPhatter, Ray Charles, LaVern Baker, and The Clovers.)

Rock 'N' Soul, 1953-1956: The History of Rock in the Pre-Beatle Decade of Rock, 2 vols. (ABCX 1955/1956). Produced by ABC Records, Inc., 1973. Distributed by ABC Records of Los Angeles, California 90048. Two records, 33-1/3 RPM. (Featuring Johnny Ace, The Orioles, Frankie Lymon, The Willows, and The Five Satins.)

The Roots of Rock 'N Roll (SJL 2221). Produced by Arista Records, Inc., 1977. Distributed by Arista Records, Inc., 6 West 57th Street, New York City 10019. Two records, 33-1/3 rpm. (Featuring The Ravens, Johnny Otis, Big Maybelle, Huey "Piano" Smith, and Wild Bill Moore.)

This is How it All Began: The Roots of Rock 'N Roll as Recorded from 1945 to 1955 on Specialty Records, 2 vols. (SPS 2117/2118). Produced by Specialty Records, Inc., 1970. Distributed by Specialty Records of Hollywood, California. Two records, 33-1/3 rpm. (Featuring The Soul Stirrers, John Lee Hooker, Roy Milton, Larry Williams, Little Richard, and Sam Cooke.)

-- Newberry College
Newberry, S.C.



JEMF ADVISORS/DIRECTORS HOLD ANNUAL MEETING

The JEMF Advisors/Directors Annual Meeting was held on 8 January 1978 at UCLA from 1:30 to 5:00 p.m.

Present were Gene Earle, D.K. Wilgus, Ken Griffis, Fred Hoeptner, Norm Cohen, Larry Zwisohn, Bob Pinson, Bill Koon, David Evans, Wayland Hand, Paul Wells, Gene Bear. Bill Ward and Don Ward were present for part of proceedings.

Advisors' proxies were tallied. It was unanimously agreed on to re-elect the following nine advisors for a six-year term: David Crisp, Harlan Daniel, Will Roy Hearne, Brad McCuen, Judith McCulloh, Ralph Rinzler, Charles Seeger, Chris Strachwitz, Bill Ward. Bess Hawes declined to run for another term because of possible conflict of interest with her position at the National Endowment for the Arts. It was decided to leave the position on the Advisors' Board she vacated unfilled for the present.

The Executive Secretary presented his report. In the course of discussion it was decided that:

- 1) The subscription rate to *JEMFQ* be raised to \$10 for individuals for 1978, and to \$11 for library rates in 1979.
- 2) It would be agreeable to accept advertising in *JEMFQ*, subject to the Editor's discretion, and provided it did not affect our bulk educational mailing privileges.
- 3) The exchange of subscription lists, or the sale of our membership/subscription list, was acceptable, subject to the approval of the Directors in each specific instance.

Paul Wells presented the annual report on the Record Project. It was decided that Paul Wells and Norm Cohen have the authority to alter packaging or pricing at their discretion. Paul Wells presented a brief report on the Ethnic Music Resources Project.

Don Ward (Acting Director of the Folklore and Mythology Center) was then introduced to the meeting and the question of JEMF's relationship to UCLA was discussed in detail. It was the consensus that we should seek some satisfactory accommodation with UCLA at this time, rather than pursue actively moving the JEMF to some other site. A committee, consisting of Gene Earle, D.K. Wilgus, Dave Evans, and Norm Cohen, was appointed to:

- 1) Fairly quickly reach an agreement with UCLA that would satisfy their legal concerns (e.g., channeling grant proposals through UCLA offices and giving UCLA the proper overhead monies; establishing JEMF's and UCLA's responsibilities over employees, their hiring, and firing);
- 2) Draft a prospectus for presentation to the University that would
 - a) Outline the history of the JEMF and its accomplishments;
 - b) Propose the type of arrangement we would like to see, and show what benefits it would bring to UCLA, and what we would expect to accomplish in the future.

THE AUSTRALIAN REGAL & REGAL ZONOPHONE SERIES NUMERICAL (1927-58), Pt. 3

G22561	THE HILL BILLIES	AR3528-1	Jump On the Wagon
		AR3527-1	Me and the Old Folks at Home
G22567	THE HILL BILLIES	AR3529-1	The Hilly Billy Band
		AR3530-1	Susanna From Alabama
G22572	HARRY TORRANI	AR3535-1	My Lancashire Yodelling Lass
		AR3536-1	Log Cabin Yodel
G22575	BRADLEY KINCAID	06872	Bury Me Out on the Prairie
Feb 1936	GENE AUTRY & JIMMIE LONG	10947	My Old Pal of Yesterday
G22588	JESSE RODGERS	0A87742	The Empty Cot
Jan 1936		0A87743	An Old Rugged Road
G22591	RILEY PUCKETT & BOB NICHOLS	17109	My Carolina Home
Oct 1936	RILEY PUCKETT	17108	I'm Drifting Back to Dreamland
G22592	CARSON ROBISON & HIS BUCKAROOS	17229	That Old Swiss Chalet in the Rockies
		17230	Little Mother of the Hills
G22595	JESSE RODGERS	0A87741	Headin' Home
		0A87747	Let Me Call You Mine
G22596	THE CARTER FAMILY	0A87020	Longing For Old Virginia
Jan 1936		0A87033	The Evening Bells Are Ringing
G22597	ARTHUR SMITH	0A87678	Spring Street Waltz
Dec 1935	RAY BROTHERS	0A62986	Home Town Waltz
G22617	THE CARTER FAMILY	0A64717	Where Shall I Be?
Feb 1936		0A64706	On the Rock Where Moses Stood
G22623	WILD & HIS JOLLY SWISS YODELLING BOYS	CZ409	Merry Go Round Polka
		CZ413	Harmony Yodel
G22631	THE HILL BILLIES	AR3591-1	Yodelling Cowboy
		AR3590-1	The Wheel of the Wagon is Broken
G22648	BILL BOYD & HIS COWBOY RAMBLERS	0A87726	Harvest Time
		0A87721	Song Bird Yodel
G22649	HARRY TORRANI	AR3688-1	Take Me Back to my Boots and Saddle
		AR3689-1	Twenty Miles to Nowhere
G22654	THE CARTER FAMILY	0A39750	Bury Me Under the Weeping Willow
March 1936		0A69347	When I'm Gone
G22655	ASHER SIZEMORE & LITTLE JIMMIE	0A82761	The Forgotten Soldier Boy
		0A82760	I Dreamed I Searched Heaven For You
G22656	THE CARTER FAMILY	0A87038	Faded Coat of Blue
Feb 1936		0A87039	Sailor Boy
G22657	THE CARTER FAMILY	0A87029	There's No Hiding Place Down Here
April 1936		0A59019	On A Hill Lone and Gray
G22658	THE CARTER FAMILY	0A87024	Are You Tired of Me My Darling?
March 1936		0A87035	The Mountains of Tennessee
G22660	JESSE RODGERS	0A82764	Yodelling the Railroad Blues
		0A82765	Roughneck Blues
G22668	MILTON BROWN AND HIS MUSICAL BROWNIES	0A83868	Girl of My Dreams
Nov 1936		0A83865	Trinity Waltz
G22669	THE GIRLS OF THE GOLDEN WEST (MILDRED & DOROTHY GOOD)	0A77209	Lonely Cowgirl
			The Roamer's Memories
G22674	THE HILL BILLIES	AR3698-1	Christmas Out on the Prairie--1
		AR3699-1	Christmas Out on the Prairie--2
G22714	TEX MORTON	T1413	Texas in the Spring
25 Feb 1936		T1414	Goin' Back to Texas
G22715	TEX MORTON	T1415	Happy Yodeller
25 Feb 1936		T1416	Swiss Sweetheart
G22716	TEX MORTON	T1417	Wyoming Willie
3 Mar 1936		T1418	You're Going to Leave the Old Home Jim

G22885 Sept 1936	NARMOUR & SMITH	400233B 404083A	The Sunny Waltz Bouquets of June Waltz
G22896	THE HILL BILLIES	AR3781-1 AR3593-1	Strawberry Roan The Dying Cowboy
G22904 20 Aug 1936	TEX MORTON	Tl461 Tl463	The Wandering Stockman Wrap Me Up With My Stockwhip and Blanket
G22905 20 Aug 1936	TEX MORTON	Tl460 Tl462	Ragtime Cowboy Joe Old Ship O' Mine
G22915	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4080-1 AR4079-1	Twilight on the Trail Blazin' the Trail (To My Home)
G22917	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4039-1 AR4040-1	Bye-Lo-Bye Lullaby Sundown in Peaceful Valley
G22918 Oct 1936	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4081-1 AR4094-1	We'll Rest at the End of the Trail She'll be Coming Round the Mountain
G22934 Nov 1936	RAMBLING RED FOLEY	C535 C538	The Lone Cowboy Single Life is Good Enough for Me

Note: At this point the label colour was changed to dark red and gold. Further pressings of earlier issues were also dark red and gold.

G22935	WILF CARTER	OA86384 OA86385	Sundown Blues Cowboy Lullaby
G22936	RILEY PUCKETT	OA94371 OA94373	Put on an Old Pair of Shoes Curly Headed Baby
G22937	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4129-1 AR4126-1	Covered Wagon Home Empty Saddles
G22950 15 Oct 1936	TEX MORTON	Tl474 Tl475	Just Drifting Along The Yodelling Bagman
G22951	TEX MORTON	Tl476 Tl477	On the Gundagai Line All Set and Saddled
G22953	WILF CARTER	OA88731 OA88733	Lonesome for Baby Tonight Hillbilly Valley
G22954	WILF CARTER	OA7902 OA7904	Pete Knight, The King of the Cowboys Calgary Roundup
G22955	WILF CARTER	OA7829 OA7838	Cowboy's High Toned Dance By the Silv'ry Moonlight Trail
G22956	WILF CARTER	OA7900 OA7906	Returning to my Old Prairie Home Trail to Home Sweet Home
G22957	WILF CARTER	OA7839 OA7907	The Dying Mother's Prayer My Blues Have Turned to Sunshine
G22962	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4127-1 AR4128-1	Wanderin' Shoes Nobody's Darlin' But Mine
G22966	RILEY PUCKETT	OA99127 OA99129	Back to my Home in Smokey Mountain Bury Me 'Neath the Willow Tree
G22967	CLIFF CARLISLE	OA99163 OA99164	Rambling Yodeller A Wild Cat Woman and a Tom Cat Man
G23000	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4172-1 AR4174-1	Blue Ridge Moon When the Moon Hangs High
G23001	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4175-1 AR1473-1	The Hobo's Spring Song Golden Slippers
G23003	NARMOUR & SMITH	19533-1 19534-1	Someone I Love Midnight Waltz
G23004	THE DIXIE RAMBLERS	OA99223 OA99224	The Waltz You Saved for Me Dixie Ramblers Waltz
G23058 23 Feb 1937	TEX MORTON	Tl496 Tl497	Lonesome Valley Sally Take Me Back to Dream by the Old Mill Stream

G23064	TEX MORTON	T1499	The Black Sheep
5 Mar 1937		T1500	You Only Have One Mother
G23084	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4282-1	After the Round-up
		AR4285-1	Moonlight Yodelling Song
G23096	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4418-1	Timber
		AR4419-1	Cowboy
G23104	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4369-1	With A Banjo on My Knee
		AR4371-1	In the Chapel in the Moonlight
Note: G23111 through G23117 (immediately following) were transferred onto Regal Zonophone from H.M.V. in 1937.			
G23111	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA76331	Somewhere Down Below the Dixon Line
Sept 1937	(HMV EA1503)	OA69458	Southern Cannonball
G23112	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA58971	Gambling Barroom Blues
Sept 1937	(EA 1514)	OA67134	Travellin' Blues
G23113	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA55309	Train Whistle Blues
Sept 1937	(EA 1539)	OA55332	Jimmie's Texas Blues
G23114	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA41742	Memphis Yodel
	(EA 1540)	OA45098	Lullaby Yodel
G23115	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA54861	Jimmie's Mean Mama Blues
	(EA 1541)	OA54863	Mule Skinner Blues (Blue Yodel No. 8)
G23116	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA41738	The Brakeman's Blues
	(EA 1542)	OA41741	My Lovin Gal, Lucille (Blue Yodel No. 2)
G23117	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA58968	No Hard Times
	(EA 1543)	OA40751	Ben Dewberry's Final Run
G23123	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4420-1	Wanderers
		AR4421-1	Little Cowboy
G23144	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4462-1	There's Only Five Bullets in my Old Six-Shooter
		AR4461-1	A Cowboy's Wedding Day
G23145	TEX MORTON	T1517	Old Pal of My Boyhood Days
8 June 1937		T1518	Across the Great Divide
G23146	TEX MORTON	T1519	Why Should I Work?
8 June 1937		T1520	The End of a Hobo's Trail
G23147	WILF CARTER	OA7772	A Cowboy's Best Friend is His Pony
		OA7766	The Hobo's Blues
G23148	WILF CARTER	OA7840	I Long for Old Wyoming
G23149	WILF CARTER	OA7910	Dear Old Daddy of Mine
		OA7903	Cowboy's Mother
G23150	WILF CARTER	OA7776	Little Silver-Haired Sweetheart of Mine
		OA7826	Prairie Blues
G23151	WILF CARTER	OA7831	The Hobo's Dream of Heaven
		OA7837	The Cow Hand's Guiding Star
G23152	WILF CARTER	OA7774	He Rode the Strawberry Roan
		OA7820	The Yodelling Trail Rider
G23153	WILF CARTER	OA7911	My Little Grey Haired Mother in the West
		OA7912	A Little Lot Shack I Can Always Call My Home
G23154	WILF CARTER	OA7822	Cowboy Don't Forget Your Mother
		OA7823	Cowboy Blues
G23155	WILF CARTER	OA7818	Sway Back Pinto Pete
		OA7833	Lover's Lullaby Yodel
G23158	HARRY TORRANI	AR4450-1	Mocking Bird Yodel
		AR4449-1	The Prairie Yodel

(To Be Continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

TAKE ME HOME: The Rise of Country & Western Music, by Steven D. Price (NY: Praeger, 1974); 184 pp., photos, discog., index; \$7.50.

I must start this review rather bluntly by saying that I find little in *Take Me Home* to justify its having ever been put into print. Purportedly a history of country and western music, it is in reality a collection of miscellaneous song lyrics strung together with a naively romantic, pseudo-socio-cultural analysis. Throughout the book, the author deals in assumptions and broad generalizations about the importance of liquor or the popularity of freight trains in the stereotypical rural's life. While much of what Mr. Price has to say could be written off as literary license, as is the prerogative of a popular historian, it is unfortunate that he "supports" his statements with a vast display of factual errors. Basic misinformation such as:

"It is no small coincidence that the first musician to perform on the Grand Ole Opry radio program was Fiddlin' John Carson." (p. 35) (To my knowledge, Carson never played on the Opry.),

or,

"Singers Bessie Smith and Billie Holiday and trumpeters Jelly Roll Morton and Louis Armstrong..." (p. 140) (emphasis mine),

make it difficult to accept such generalizations as:

"...when whites finally admitted their interest and enthusiasm [in Dixieland and jug band music,] *black urban music became more than just a footnote in the history of Jazz.*" (p. 115) (emphasis and brackets mine),

or,

"...the film *Bonnie and Clyde* included an appropriate bluegrass theme to capture the reckless glee with which those outlaws went about their business," (p. 123). [Bonnie and Clyde were killed in 1934, about eleven years before Earl Scruggs' first recordings with Bill Monroe.] (brackets mine)

There are many more errors to be found, more or less serious depending upon one's sensitivities. Bob Wills never recorded "Rose of San Antone" (p. 164); "San Antonio Rose" and "New San Antonio Rose" yes, but not "Rose of San Antone." The steel guitar is not "...also known as pedal steel..." nor have the instruments been "...outfitted with *electronic* devices to...alter their pitch..." (p. 116) (emphasis mine). I find it hard to accept "Keys to the Highway," a song generally associated with blues musicians, as being representative in country music (p. 124).

As a history of country music, the book lacks a lot of important names. While dwelling on the contributions of Bob Dylan and Ringo Starr, there is no mention at all of Ralph Peer, Eck Robertson, Dr. J. R. Brinkley, Vernon Dalhart, Rev. Andrew Jenkins, Art Satherley, George D. Hay, Fred Rose, nor any number of other country music pioneers. Country music since World War II is covered in seventeen pages, and while Ornette Coleman and Bela Bartok's names are to be found, Chet Atkins is mentioned only in passing in the biography and discography sections.

The supporting sections of the book are not much better. The photo section does include a few pictures of country and country-pop performers, but there are far too many "scenic" shots such as those titled "A rural railroad construction gang" or "There would always be at least one guitar in the bunkhouse of any ranch." The discography is heavy on recordings by Joan Baez and Roger Sprung, while the recordings of most early country performers, and quite a few later ones, are missing. There are no references to any of the numerous re-issue recordings to be found on the *County*, *Old-Timey* or *Rounder* labels. While the bibliography lists a number of popular country and bluegrass music periodicals, there are no addresses given, a major inconvenience because these journals are seldom found on the magazine rack. Perhaps more significant, however, is that neither the *Journal of Country Music* nor the *JEMF Quarterly* (nor, for that matter, their parent organizations) are mentioned at all.

It seems a shame that so much time, effort, and money was spent gift wrapping such a shoddy product. Let's hope the future brings better things than another *Take Me Home*.

---Michael Mendelson
Davis, Calif.

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STUDIES IN SCANDINAVIAN--AMERICAN DISCOGRAPHY 2, by Pekka Gronow (Helsinki: Finnish Institute of Recorded Sound, 1977); 160 pp., approx. 6x8", paper covers; photos, facsimiles; \$5.00 (from the author).

As Gronow notes in his Introduction, the present volume is intended to list all known Finnish, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic 78 rpm records issued on the Columbia label in the United States; all 78 rpm Scandinavian records issued by the Standard Phono Co., and all 78 rpm Finnish records issued by small, independent American companies. Thus, together with Vol. 1 of the series (reviewed in the previous issue of *JEMFQ*) the set lists all known Finnish-American 78 rpm records and a large proportion of other Scandinavian-American releases.

The format is practically identical to that of Vol. 1. After a 16-page introduction reviewing briefly the history of the Columbia company and detailing in more depth the company's involvement in foreign-language recordings, Gronow provides a page of information on the Standard label, the creation of one-time singer and producer Tetos Demetriades. The introductory remarks are followed by three pages of reproductions of Columbia and other record labels featuring Scandinavian releases. The actual numerical listings begin on page 35. For a typical entry, arranged numerically by release number, Gronow provides artist and title credits, followed by whatever supplementary descriptive information appeared on the label (such as type of singer and/or accompaniment, etc.); release date (if known), parallel releases on other discs, and, where known, master numbers. In the latter category there are numerous gaps, and collectors possessing some of these discs are urged to send to Gronow any supplementary data they can.

The material on the records documented in this booklet may seem remote indeed from country music; yet they constitute a part of the commercially recorded American folk music as much as did the parallel hillbilly and blues records of the same era. Later this year the *JEMF* and the Finnish Institute of Recorded Sound will be jointly publishing Gronow's discography on the Irish-American records of the Columbia 33000-F series. As readers of *JEMFQ* now know, there are numerous other parallel series that need exploration. How about a similar discography of cajun recordings? or of Mexican-American recordings?

---Norm Cohen

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THE LITERATURE OF AMERICAN MUSIC IN BOOKS AND FOLK MUSIC COLLECTIONS: A Fully Annotated Bibliography, by David Horn (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1977); 556 pp., \$20.00.

Five years ago, the author, a librarian at the American Arts Documentation Centre of the University of Exeter, England, compiled a short bibliography entitled *The Literature of American Music: A Fully Annotated Catalogue of Books and Song Collections in Exeter University Library*. The present work is an extension of that compilation, its scope considerably broadened beyond the confines of the single institutional collection of some 500 titles to the 1388 entries given in the main listing. (An Appendix lists an additional 302 titles without annotations--mostly items that the author did not have a chance to examine personally.) The subtitle, "books and folk music collections," means only books.

The main listing is divided into ten sections: (A) General Works, (B) The Musical Tradition to 1800, (C) The Cultivated Tradition in the 19th Century, (D) The Cultivated Tradition in the 20th Century, (E) The Music of the American Indian, (F) Folk Music, (G) Black Music, (H) Jazz, and (I) Popular Currents. Section (F), on Folk Music, contains 230 entries dealing mostly with white traditions; the last three sections each contain close to 250 entries. Hillbilly and country music comprises a separate subsection of Section (F), with some 40 annotated entries. The annotations are generally accurate, objective, and insightful; not the bland approbations that one finds on dust jackets or in fan magazines.

There are various small complaints that could be raised at this point. The nature of the divisions inevitably raises problems over which Section is most appropriate for a given work; there are naturally omissions; and annotations occasionally leave something to be desired. But by and large I find this compilation admirable, the annotations useful. It is doubtless the best general annotated bibliography on American music presently available--though specialists may find other compilations more to their purpose. The fields of folk, country, and pop are all covered quite well--though in the case of the rapidly expanding list of country music publications, the absence of any titles later than 1975 will soon make that section of the bibliography outdated.

FOLK TUNES FROM MISSISSIPPI, collected by Arthur Palmer Hudson. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977; reprint of 2nd edn, publ. in 1937.) 67 pp., 8.5x11"; \$19.50.

FOLK SONGS MAINLY FROM WEST VIRGINIA, by John Harrington Cox. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977; reprint of 1939 edn.) 111 pp., 8.5x11"; \$19.50.

These two reprints, issued in companion format and bindings (and with a single 1977 introduction by Paul Glass for both books), were products of the WPA's Federal Theatre Project of the Depression decade. In their original editions both books were modest in both format and content; each contained some fifty folksongs and tunes (Cox's collection was slightly the larger), each was issued in mimeographed form. Neither collection was a major opus of its author: Hudson's collection was frankly the remnants from his *Folksongs from Mississippi and Their Background*, which, scheduled for publication in 1930, was delayed and emaciated by the economic troubles of the time. When it finally appeared in 1936 it had been thinned down and stripped of all the tunes in order to make publication economically possible. Cox had already established himself by his magnificent collection, *Folk Songs of the South* (1925), one of the best and most carefully annotated collections of the prolific decade of the 1920s. In 1939, two supplemental collections were issued under the aegis of the WPA: *Traditional Ballads Mainly from West Virginia* and *Folk-Songs Mainly From West Virginia*, both comprising material collected since his earlier work. The two volumes were republished together in 1964 by the American Folklore Society as Volume 15 of the Bibliographical and Special Series. Since that reprint is now out-of-print, it would have been useful for DaCapo to republish the two of them together, rather than just the Folk Songs volume.

Hudson provides no annotations to the songs given in this small volume inasmuch as all but eight of them also appear in his *Folk Songs of Mississippi* (in different versions) and are discussed in detail there. Most of the selections are of British origin, though a few are of nineteenth century American origin. With few exceptions (such as, perhaps, "The Young Oysterman," which is a traditional variant of Oliver Wendell Holmes' poem, "The Ballad of the Oysterman"), the collection contains nothing rare or unusual.

The contents of Cox's collection, in view of the existence of the companion volume of Ballads, are puzzling inasmuch as most of the entries are quite properly ballads rather than lyrical songs. The distinction, rather, seems to have been that the volume of Ballads comprised old world material while Folk Songs consisted largely (though not entirely) of native American pieces. Ample annotations are given at the end of the volume--though generally not so expansively as Cox permitted himself in *Folk Songs of the South*. None of the pieces had not been previously published in some other collection--though "Wreck of the Old 97" and "Prisoner's Song" had each appeared only once earlier.

If the above remarks imply some shortage of enthusiasm in the appearance of these two volumes, the reader has not been wholly misled. It is difficult to imagine why these two books were singled out by the publisher for reprinting--unless they simply happen to be the initial efforts in an extensive series of reprints. There are many far more important collections that are out of print and should be made available again before the lesser works are tackled. Randolph's *Ozark Folk Songs*, Scarborough's *A Songcather in the Southern Mountains*, and Belden's *Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folksong Society* are but three outstanding examples. And, at a price considerably greater than that of xeroxing the originals in their entirety, these reprints will cost the purchaser deep in purse. I do not foresee great sales for either of them.

-- N.C.

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THE FABULOUS PHONOGRAPH: 1877-1977, by Roland Gelatt (New York: Macmillan, 1977). 2nd rev edn, photos, 349 pp., \$10.95.

The centennial anniversary of the invention of Edison's phonograph should bring forth a cornucopia of new books and articles on the sound recording industry--and some not so new books. This one falls in the latter category: Gelatt's history of the phonograph was originally published in 1955 on the eve of some momentous changes in the industry (the emergence of rock & roll, and the introduction of the mail-order record clubs, to name two). A second edition appeared in 1965 with an added brief Postscript; in this edition ("2nd" modifies "revised," not "edition") that Postscript has been removed and replaced with three new chapters that carry the account forward from 1955 to the 1970s.

Gelatt's avowed goal has been to blend science, business, and esthetics in a unified narrative that places the phonograph in proper perspective against the backdrop of contemporary technology and culture. In the process, Gelatt has produced an eminently readable account that has something for

everyone--although at the possible risk of appearing superficial to readers with highly specialized interests. For example, it might be noted that in discussing the music of the recordings, he confines himself almost exclusively to classical music.

The account is somewhat more detailed for the earlier years of phonograph history. Thus, over a third of the book is devoted to the formative years of the 19th century, covering the early invention by Edison, the subsequent improvement by Taintner and Bell, which made the device a practical instrument, the early rise and proliferation of the cylinder business, the invention by Emile Berliner of the flat disc, and early competition between the various manufacturers. The middle third of the book covers roughly the years from the turn of the century to the introduction of electrical recording in 1924. This period saw the emergence of the Victor Talking Machine Company as a major force in the new industry and the gradual ascendancy of the flat disc over the cylinder, largely on the basis of ease of production (in spite of the superior fidelity of the cylinder). The final third chronicles the introduction of electrical recording and the reactions to it; the devastating impact of the Great Depression on the record business; the reorganizations that took place during the 1930s; the recovery on the eve of the World War; the impact of tape recording; the battle of the new speeds (33 and 45 rpm); stereo; piracy; and other modern developments.

All in all, *The Fabulous Phonograph* is an admirable account of the history of the talking machine; however, I think that the really serious student would do better to look for Read and Welch's *From Tin-foil to Stereo*, a much more detailed history; a revised edition of this is also due this year.

-- N.C.

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"Thematic Pattern in Downhome Blues Lyrics: The Evidence on Commercial Phonograph Records Since World War II," by Jeff Todd Titon, in *Journal of American Folklore* 90 (July-Sept 1977), 316-330, discusses the historical development of blues recordings since the war and examines their narrative patterns, finding that "freedom is the overarching theme..." However, this does not necessarily mean freedom from racial discrimination. "Viewed in the context of the downhome social milieu, the immediate function of blues lyrics, if they were equipment for living, is obvious: to help lovers understand one another or give them social approval for leaving in response to mistreatment."

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The Journal of Country Music, 6:3 (Fall 1975), includes "'I Feel It Down Through Music': World View in the Titles of Bill Monroe's Recordings," by Tom Ayers (pp. 96-108); "Cultural Dimensions of the Bluegrass Boom, 1970-1975," by John Rumble (109-121); "WOPI--The Pioneer Voice of the Appalachians," by Richard Blaustein (122-129); "Hank Williams: Loneliness and Psychological Alienation," by Larry Powell (130-135); and "Up North with the Blue Ridge Ramblers: Jennie Bowman's 1931 Tour Diary," by Charles Wolfe (136-145).

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Old Time Music, #24 (Spring 1977) features "The Blackard-Shelor Story: Biography of a Hillbilly Stringband," by Tom Carter (pp. 4-7, 31); "Music in Arcadia: The Story of the Taylor-Griggs Louisiana Melody Makers," by Tony Russell (8-16); and Part 2 of an interview of Eldon Shamblin (guitarist for Bob Wills) by Mark Humphrey (17-20). #25 (Summer 1977) features several articles on old time music in Georgia: "Five Years With the Best--Bill Shores and North Georgia Fiddling," by Charlie Wolfe (4-8); "Hell Broke Loose in Gordon County, Georgia," an investigation by Gene Wiggins documenting in particular the careers of Bud Landress and Bill Chitwood (9-16); with "A Discography of Old Time Music in Gordon County," by Tony Russell (17-21); "Lester Smallwood & His Cotton Mill Song," by Charles Wolfe (22-23); "Uncle John Patterson, Then and Now," by Robert Nobley (24); and Part 3 of the interview with Eldon Shamblin by Mark Humphrey (25-27).

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PICTURE THE SONGS, by Lester S. Levy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976). 213 pp., 8.5 x 11", \$25. This, the fourth of Mr. Levy's books on the popular music of the 19th century, is a collection of 100 reproductions of lithographed sheet music covers from the 1820s to 1895, many in color. Accompanying each reproduction is a page or so of commentary on words, music, subject of the song, artists, etc. Also included are a 6-page bibliography and an index of lithographers, artists, composers and writers.

Mississippi Folklore Register, X:1 (Spring 1976) includes "Black and White Elements in the Music of Jimmie Rodgers," by Cynthia D. Stribling (pp. 41-53), a discussion of some of Rodgers' songs, in particular his Blue Yodels; and "Country Music, the South, and Americanism," by Bill C. Malone (pp. 54-66), a discussion of "How...a music once contemptuously dismissed as 'hillbilly,' and presumed to be the province of cultural degenerates...[got] to be the exemplar and upholder of national norms. Malone contends that "...the relationship between country music and 'Americanism' is a tenuous one, but one which is rooted in the South's ambivalent relationship to the nation at large, the sense of being both out of the mainstream and at the same time being more 'American' than other regions of the nation." Both papers were originally given orally before recent meetings of the Mississippi Folklore Society.

THE WRECK OF THE OLD 97, by Clara Garrett Fountain (Danville: Womack Press, 1976), 22 pp., \$3.99 (+ 75¢ postage; available from Fountain Publications, 325 Linden Drive, Danville, VA 24541). A brief retelling of the story of the famous railroad accident of 1903 for children, illustrated with photos of the accident and drawings by elementary school children. Includes words and music to the ballad.

BACK ISSUES OF JEMFQ WANTED

Frequently we receive requests for back issues of *JEMFQ*--particularly by libraries that want to obtain complete runs of the periodical. Unfortunately, many of the early issues are out-of-print, and the costs of reprinting them are prohibitively high. Consequently, if any readers have back issues of *JEMFQ* that they are not interested in keeping, we would appreciate it if they could be returned to us. We assure you that your unwanted discards can thus be put to good use.

NEW JEMF PUBLICATION AVAILABLE

We are pleased to announce the availability of the latest publication in our Special Series, *THE RECORDINGS OF JIMMIE RODGERS: AN ANNOTATED DISCOGRAPHY*, by Johnny Bond. This is a complete discography of Rodgers' recordings, together with extensive comments on the material, the recordings, and the musicians, by long-time Jimmie Rodgers fan (and prominent country music personality in his own right), Johnny Bond. The 100-page booklet includes an introduction by Norm Cohen discussing Rodgers' career and his impact on country and folk music; and a list of available sales figures for Victor and Montgomery Ward 78s. The booklet is extensively illustrated with many photos and facsimiles that have rarely (or never) been published. We feel certain that this will be a valued addition to the libraries of all readers of the *JEMF Quarterly* and students of early country music history. The price of the booklet is \$4.00 per copy (members of the Friends of the JEMF receive their usual 20% discount, making the price \$3.20).

By the time this issue of the *Quarterly* is in readers' hands, we expect several other new publications also to be ready. These include No. 10 in our Special Series, *THE COLUMBIA 33000-F IRISH SERIES: A NUMERICAL LISTING*. This listing, compiled by Pekka Gronow and published as a joint venture by the JEMF and the Finnish Institute of Recorded Sound, offers details on the more than 500 records issued in this important series. Complete artist and title indexes will also be included. Two more albums in our LP series will be ready: these include an anthology of New England Fiddle Music, and an album of vintage recordings by the Farr Brothers, long time members of the Sons of the Pioneers. Watch the next issue of *JEMFQ* for full details.

RECORD REVIEWS

OLD TIME STRING BAND CLASSICS (County 531). Reissue of 12 hillbilly string band numbers originally recorded 1927-1933. Brief liner notes by Tom Carter. Selections: Luke Highnight & His Ozark Strutters: *Sailing on the Ocean*; Alex Hood & His Railroad Boys: *L & N Rag*; Dr. Humphrey Bate & His Possum Hunters: *Ham Beats All Meat*; Roanoke Jug Band: *Johnny Lover*; Earl Johnson & His Clodhoppers: *Mississippi Jubilee*; The Fox Chasers: *Eighth of January*; Sharp, Hinman & Sharp: *Robinson County*; Caplinger's String Band: *Carolina Stompsdown*; Ted Gossett's Band: *Going to Jail*; The Booker Orchestra: *Camp Nelson Blues*; Floyd County Ramblers: *Granny Will Your Dog Bite*.

County's excellent series of reissues of early southeastern country/hillbilly music has now surpassed three dozen albums--all wonderful collections. While most of the releases have focused on particular artists, instruments, or regions, a few, such as the item at hand, are simply eclectic samplers of varying bands and styles. Although the selections are all excellent examples of the varieties of stringband music of the 1920s and 1930s, most of the bands will be unfamiliar to all but the most dedicated devotees of this art form: only two or three of them have appeared on previous reissues.

The liner notes sketch out briefly some broad generalizations about the evolution of old time stringband music. Most of the assertions are reasonable, yet I wonder about the evidence for one in particular: "In early Anglo/American instrumental music, fiddlers either played unaccompanied or in a unison style..." While it can be agreed generally that the banjo, guitar, mandolin, and harmonica all came into the southeastern instrumental style well after the Civil War, I would be uneasy about making strong statements about antebellum styles. What about piano or organ? Tabors, fifes, and whistles? And how do we know that two or more fiddles played in unison? In truth, I would probably make the same statements myself if asked; yet seeing them in print makes me question just what we really do know about music from the 18th and early 19th centuries.

As for the recordings offered, they are all delightful--regardless of what we know or don't know about their musical antecedents. I find particularly enjoyable Ted Sharp's fiddle-led "Robinson County" (with piano accompaniment), the raggy "Going to Jail" by the Gossett Band, and the musical miscegenation represented by the Booker Orchestra--one of the few black aggregations to be recorded playing in the white (well, nearly white) stringband style. Carter's notes stress the changes that took place in the music when new styles, such as blues, ragtime and swing permeated the south. Most of the selections on this LP are products of the influences of such 20th century genres on the older survivals of Anglo-American instrumental music. In this sense, then, the appellation "old-time," which was used as a frequent descriptive even in the 1920s, was a misnomer: this music was quite modern in the sense that it would never have been heard two or three decades earlier. Yet to contemporary listeners--in particular the city-bred record company executives who created the advertising terminology to describe their product, the difference between what they heard here and what they knew as up-to-date styles (e.g., blues, jazz, etc.) was more apparent than the differences between these stringbands and the much older styles of, say, an Emmett Lundy or an Ed Haley.

NASHVILLE: THE EARLY STRING BANDS, Vol. 1 (County 541). Reissues of 1924-35 recordings of early string bands, instrumentalists, and singers associated with the country music scene of Nashville and the early Grand Ole Opry in the 1920s. Brochure notes by Charles Wolfe. Selections: Dr. Humphrey Bate & His Possum Hunters: *My Wife Died Saturday Night*, *Eighth of January*, *Throw the Old Cow Over the Fence*, *Green Backed Dollar Bill*; Uncle Dave Macon: *Railroadin' and Gamblin'*, *I'm Goin' Away in the Morn*; Paul Warmack & His Gully Jumpers: *Robertson County*, *Stone Rag*, *McGee Brothers: Salt Lake City Blues*; Sam McGee: *Chevrolet Car*; Uncle Bunt Stephens: *Candy Girl*; Binkley Brothers' Dixie Clodhoppers: *Give Me Back My Fifteen Cents*; Sid Harkreader and Grady Moore: *Old Joe*.

NASHVILLE: THE EARLY STRING BANDS, Vol. 2 (County 542). As above. Selections: Crook Bros. String Band: *Jobbin Gettin' There*, *Going Across the Sea*; Uncle Dave Macon: *Over the Road I'm Bound to Go*, *Bake That Chicken Pie*; Theron Hale & Daughters: *Hale's Rag*, *Jolly Blacksmith*; Deford Bailey: *Muscle Shoals Blues*, *Pan American Blues*; McGee Bros.: *Old Master's Runaway*; Sam McGee: *Brown's Ferry Blues*; Uncle Jimmy Thompson: *Karo*, *Billy Wilson*; Blind Joe Mangrum & Fred Schreiber: *Bill Cheatam*.

Country music historian Charles Wolfe has already written an excellent account of the formative years of the Grand Ole Opry (*Grand Ole Opry: The Early Years 1925-1935*; 1975); these two albums provide aural documentation to many of the musical figures that are discussed in his book. All of the musicians heard on these companion albums were featured on the Opry in those early years; some (Bate, Macon, Thompson) were major mainstays for varying lengths of time.

We have, then, a fairly good representation of what the early Opry sound must have been like, and the overriding impression is one of rather raucous and highly spirited string bands. There are of course exceptions, such as the relatively archaic fiddling of Stephens and Thompson, the trace of the parlor room sound in Theron Hale's band, and the harmonica blues of the Opry "mascot," Deford Bailey. Apart from Macon, not much singing; mostly good fiddle, banjo, harmonica. There are some fine examples here: of course, Uncle Dave Macon and the McGee Brothers can be counted on to provide outstanding performances, and it's good to have the McGees' "Salt Lake City Blues" reissued at last. Harkreader & Moore's fiddle-guitar work make the listener wonder why more of this duo hasn't been reissued. The same can be said for the Mangrum-Schreiber duets, although unfortunately only two sides by these men were ever issued (of the five recorded). Paul Warmack's band offers a lively version of "Stone's Rag," a piece generally attributed to Oscar Stone, fiddler for Dr. Bate's band; yet I wonder if the piece could be older, as elsewhere it is known as "Lone Star Rag" or "48 Dogs in the Meathouse." Stone's fine fiddling can be heard on "Green Backed Dollar Bill."

Five of the selections have already been reissued on LP in this country (and 3 more abroad), but no matter; they are done better service here in the context of their original musical milieu.

SAM AND KIRK MCGEE FROM SUNNY TENNESSEE (Bear Family Records 15517; 2871 Harmenhausen, Hohe Seite, W. Germany). Reissue of sixteen selections originally recorded 1926-28. Titles: *C-H-I-C-K-E-N Spells Chicken*, *Rufus Blossom*, *Salty Dog Blues*, *Someone Else May Be There While I'm Gone*, *My Family Has Been a Crooked Set*, *The Tramp*, *A Flower From My Angel Mother's Grave*, *The Kicking Mule*, *The Ship Without a Sail*, *If I Could Only Blot Out the Past*, *Old Master's Runaway*, *Charming Bill*, *Only a Step to the Grave*, *Easy Rider*, *Chevrolet Car*, *As Willie and Mary Strolled by the Seashore*. Enclosed brochure includes biographical sketch and notes on the songs by Charles Wolfe, text transcriptions by Robert Nobley and Willard Johnson.

If the listener of the two albums previously reviewed finds himself captivated by the style of long-time Opry regulars Sam and Kirk McGee, then this album will offer a delightful deeper excursion into their musical treasures. Though their later recordings for Folkways (FA 2379 and FTS 31007) show them to be remarkably adept at Anglo-American fiddle and banjo tunes, their 1920s recordings stressed their borrowings from late 19th century minstrelsy, blues, the Tin Pan Alley balladry. Only two numbers on this LP fall outside these domains: the British broadside ballad, "As Willie and Mary Strolled by the Seashore" (catalogued by G. Malcolm Laws as N 28 in his syllabus, *American Ballads from British BroadSides*), and the Vaughan gospel song, "Only a Step to the Grave." Sam's excellent finger-picking, banjo-guitar work, familiar to reissue collectors through such titles as "Knoxville Blues," "Railroad Blues," "Buck Dancer's Choice," and "Franklin Blues" is heard again on "Easy Rider," actually more closely related to "Salty Dog Blues" than the usual "Easy Rider"; and "Amos Johnson Rag," interpolated at the end of his "The Ship Without a Sail." Kirk's excellent blues-influenced fiddle is heard to distinction on "Salty Dog Blues," more closely related to Papa Charlie Jackson's versions than the one popularized by the Allen Brothers and others after them.

Charles Wolfe's notes are up to his usual high standards; fortunately, Wolfe had the opportunity to interview the McGees with a tape of these selections in hand, and thereby elicit their comments on the songs and their sources.

GOD BE WITH YOU UNTIL WE MEET AGAIN: Old Time Country Gospel Music, by Sam McGee and Bill Lowery (Davis Unltd DU-33021). Twelve selections recorded in 1975 in Franklin, Tenn., featuring McGee (vocal/guitar) and/or Lowery (vocal/mandolin), accompanied by Jim DeFries (vocal/rhythm guitar) and J.P. James (string bass). Liner notes by Charles Wolfe. Titles: *There is a Fountain*, *Farther Along*, *How Great Thou Art*, *Life's Railway to Heaven*, *Whispering Hope*, *Where No One Stands Alone*, *Wayfaring Stranger*, *Amazing Grace*, *What a Friend We Have in Jesus*, *Where the Roses Never Fade*, *I'm S-A-V-E-D*, *God Be With You Until We Meet Again*.

From the previous album, some of Sam McGee's earliest recordings, made when he was in his early thirties, we move to his last recordings, made a few weeks before his death at the age of 81. Not all southern musicians could play blues and gospel music with equal comfort; too many felt a conflict in mixing the secular and sacred with impunity. However, this album clearly presents "Mr. Sam" in a different posture: this is the octogenarian playing music he has been comfortable with all of his long life--the domestic tradition, as opposed to the fiery showpieces carefully worked out to stun and please audience after audience. Of course, age has taken the edge off of all of his guitar work; even the blues and frolic pieces, performed in his last few years, betrayed his fingers as somewhat less nimble than they were fifty years ago. Yet I suspect that the different context is an important as the difference in age in setting the pace and tone of the material.

Featuring McGee and his mandolin-playing colleague, with whom he had been picking a good deal in the last few years, the recordings have a decidedly spontaneous aura about them. Like all spontaneous sessions, sometimes everything works smoothly, other times, not. My only source of unease is that I get the impression McGee is playing for himself and cohorts, not for us, the listeners. So, then, should we eavesdrop nevertheless?

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Members of the Friends of the JEMF receive the *JEMF Quarterly* as part of their \$10.00 (or more) annual membership dues. Individual subscriptions are \$10.00 per year for the current year; Library subscription rates for 1978 are \$10.00. All foreign subscribers should add an extra \$1.00 postage for surface delivery; air mail to Europe and South America is an extra \$6.50, to Asia, Africa and Australia, \$8.50. Most back issues of Volumes 6-13 (Numbers 17 through 48) are available at \$2.50 per copy; write for current list. (Xerographic and microform copies of *JEMFQ* are available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.)

The *JEMF Quarterly* is edited by Norm Cohen. Manuscripts that fall within the area of the JEMF's activities and goals (described on inside front cover) are invited, but should be accompanied by an addressed, stamped return envelope. All manuscripts, books and records for review, and other communications should be addressed to: Editor, *JEMFQ*, John Edwards Memorial Foundation, at the Folklore & Mythology Center, University of California, Los Angeles, CA, 90024.

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THE JEMF

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The purpose of the JEMF is to further the serious study and public recognition of those forms of American folk music disseminated by commercial media such as print, sound recordings, films, radio and television. These forms include the music referred to as *cowboy, western, country & western, old time, hillbilly, bluegrass, mountain, country, cajun, sacred, gospel, race, blues, rhythm and blues, soul, and folk rock.*

The Foundation works toward this goal by:

gathering and cataloguing phonograph records, sheet music, song books, photographs, biographical and discographical information, and scholarly works, as well as related artifacts;

compiling, publishing and distributing bibliographical, biographical, discographical, and historical data;

reprinting, with permission, pertinent articles originally appearing in books and journals;

and reissuing historically significant out-of-print sound recordings.

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BUELL KAZEE

By Loyal Jones

One folk-song scholar called Buell Kazee "the greatest white male folk singer in the United States." He was one of the several musicians who made records when the recording industry was in early bloom, who took up another profession, and who was rediscovered as a musician much later. Those who collected 78 rpm records, several scholars, a good many lovers of genuine traditional music and his neighbors in eastern Kentucky swore by him as one of the great singers and one of the very best banjo players in the mountain frailing style. With the folk revival in the '60s and '70s, he was sought after, and he gave concerts or appeared in festivals at Newport, the Smithsonian, the Universities of Chicago, Illinois, California at Los Angeles, Temple and Simon Fraser (Vancouver), Berea College and Fresno State, the Seattle Folk Song Society, Mariposa and the Mountain Heritage Festival. Folkways issued an LP, and he was visited by many admirers, delighted to discover that the man who had recorded for Brunswick the last three years of the twenties was still alive.

Buell Hilton Kazee was born 29 August 1900 at the head of Burton Fork in Magoffin County in the mountains of eastern Kentucky. His parents were Abbie Jane and John Franklin Kazee, both singers. His mother sang the old ballads and his father was noted for his hymn singing. His sisters sang the "tender love songs" such as "Come All Ye Fair and Tender Ladies."

Musicians came to our house, because of the girls [his sisters] more than anything else, I guess. They were very pretty girls, and popular, and they attracted young men. Then my father was a strange person. He never went to school more than the second grade, but he was one of the greatest readers I've ever known. He would sit by the fireplace at night and read books to us. People liked to come by and talk with him. He was affable and had a great following. Mother was a staunch mountain woman in character and life. There were four boys and two girls living together in that big log house--a double-room log house, with chimney between, of hewn logs.

We just sang by nature. Everybody sang and nobody thought there was anything unusual about it. And a good many people around us did. Down the road almost in sight was Preacher Caudill's family. They were all singers. They had a banjo, the first one I ever saw. They called it a "peanut" banjo. It was a little fellow. They played that and they played the fiddle down there.

Banjo players especially were numerous.

Everybody played the banjo--not good but whacking at it, and you could find homemade banjos around. I'd hear others play; they'd come there and pick the banjo and play the fiddle--sit up half the night with that kind of music. I'd listen to them....Bate LeMaster was the leading banjo-picker in the community and Clint Bailey was the leading fiddler....

I started picking the banjo when I was five years old--a tack-head banjo. I went to Aunt Sade's [Bailey, his mother's sister] one night. They had one over there that they'd worn out, they thought. There was a hole in the head where your fingers rest. It was homemade with a walnut neck. The Bailey boys were all good carpenters, and they had made the banjo. I cried for that one, and they gave it to me and I carried it home under Dad's coat, trying to keep it out of the rain. Sherd [Sherman] Conley was always catching animals and tanning their hides, and he caught a cat, skinned and tanned that hide and put it on the banjo....I began to pick with thumb and forefinger. I picked most of the melody with my thumb. I'd hit the thumb string and then hit the melody string. Then I began to frail--no melody at all. I learned to pick out the tune with my forefinger, picking down with the back of the nail. "Lord Thomas and Fair Ellender" was the first tune I ever learned. Mother had sung that ever since I could remember.

Buell played that homemade banjo until he was ten or eleven years old. Then he bought another one from a neighbor named Ben McCormick which had a "brought-on" (manufactured) head with brackets and a homemade neck. It cost him \$3.00, and he played it for many years. Ben McCormick was one of the persons who taught him special techniques in playing.

The Kazees had migrated from Virginia to Floyd and Johnson Counties of Kentucky in the last century, taking up land there under land grants. Buell thought that the family name had originally been Case, pronounced with two syllables. Some of the descendents of these early settlers spell it Keesee, others Kozee. Buell's mother was a Conley, a common name in the Burton and Mash Fork area of Magoffin County, and he was related to numerous Baileys on his father's side. His mother Abigail was a "serious religious person;" everyone respected her. She felt it was all right to clap her hands and praise the Lord but she was opposed to dancing and had reservations about the music associated with dancing. John Franklin Kazee took an occasional nip of whiskey and was more frolicsome. Yet he was "a great singer of religious songs," as Buell recalled. "Father had a great voice, though he never knew it....He knew how to interpret songs." He was "churched," expelled, from the church for his drinking, but he went to church anyway and helped lead the singing, not abashed by the broken relationship. Eventually, no doubt under Abigail's influence, he forsook his wayward flings and became a serious church member.

The conflict between religious and secular music, as well as related traditions, was mainly unspoken, but it was a profound problem which was with Buell throughout his life.

Our house became a social center. The girls he had two sisters and three brothers would get out and pick beans all day, and they might say, "Let's have a bean stringing." The boys'd say, "Let's have a dance." Well, Mother couldn't take that, and for a long time she fought it off. But a few times they overpowered her and they had some dances. I remember Clint Bailey playing the fiddle and Bate LeMaster the banjo....Mother got talked about for letting us dance, so she put her foot down....We look back with condescension now, but there was a great deal of evil connected with these occasions. There was a lot of blackguard talk when they got drunk. People didn't want their girls to go to places like this.

Evil and its opposite, righteousness, were of great concern to the people of his community. There were two churches on Mash Fork, into which flowed Burton Fork. Both were Baptist, but one was a Missionary Baptist Church (Southern Baptist) and the other a United Baptist Church, which leaned back toward a more rigorous Calvinism. They were effective in setting the moral and religious tone of the community in which Buell grew up, and they personally affected him. He learned the two kinds of music, the unaccompanied "lined-out" singing of the United Baptists, and the more revivalistic music of the Missionary church. He professed a religious commitment in a revival at the Mash Fork Baptist (Missionary) Church, and by the time he was seventeen, he was preaching.

Along about 1912 or 1914, I was picking the banjo, picking all of the tunes, hoedowns and ballads, like I do now. But I joined the church and I was told, not formally, that the banjo did not go with religion. I could understand why. It had a pretty bad reputation. It had been a lot of places where a lot of things were going on that shouldn't. It was the frolicking atmosphere that had surrounded the banjo, and the people looked upon the fiddle or banjo as the sort of thing that went with that crowd, you know. So I had to kind of mute the banjo. I played it at home, but I never got out with it much though. I realized that if I became a preacher, I wouldn't be allowed to pick the banjo. The sentiment would be against it.

So, I knew the conflict was there, but it began to decrease by the time I was growing up. While nobody thought of bringing a banjo to a churchhouse, it wasn't terrible to play by the time I became a young man....

Instinctively, he did not mix his preaching and revival singing with his banjo picking and entertainment. This was the beginning of two distinctly separate careers--so separate that years later fellow-preachers were surprised to hear that he was a well-known folk artist and folk enthusiasts were unaware that he was a preacher.

He liked to entertain. He spoke of teaming up with his high school principal, Ollie Patrick, and entertaining around the county.

Ollie played a mandolin and fiddle. He could violin or fiddle it. I played the guitar, mandolin and banjo. We got together and became well-known as entertainers. Sometimes in the summertime on the dirt streets around the courthouse, we'd get the instruments out and sit there and play in the moonlight, and people would sing. We'd have a great time. We were entertainers.

He spoke eloquently about the get-togethers in his or other musicians' homes, when a special magic would prevail:

Picking the banjo by the fireside at night, you know, it would lead up to a mood. It'd get so everything you'd touch would be good. You wouldn't miss a note. Everything you played had a soulful quality about it--an emotional quality. That was the thing that made it good. Now it just couldn't come up like we're doing now. You can't sit down here and say we're going to demonstrate this and demonstrate that and do it that way. It doesn't work that way at all. The fiddler and the banjo picker--that was, I think, the famous combination of the mountains and the best-- would start on a tune and it would get so that the fiddle bow would just dance on the strings. It'd just tip the strings, and by that time the whole thing was just running by itself. The banjo picker and the fiddler were simply in an emotional automation. They sat with their knees interlocked. Your right knee would be between my knees, you see, and your left knee on the other side--be so close together it would just weave itself together till there was just one beat all the way through.

He had the ministry in mind when he entered Magoffin Baptist Institute, a high school. Yet music was a strong interest, and it was there that he was exposed to other traditions.

When I got to high school, I was hearing all of the modern things. I got my classical education right across the lane from the high school dorm where I lived from Mrs. Polly Hazelrig, a widow, a good singer, maybe not as trained as some, but she had a wonderful voice. She sang in the church choir at Saylersville and all around. Her sons gave her a Chippendale model of the Edison phonograph and she had two drawers of records, nearly all classical. I would go over there and sit and play those records. You can't imagine how much I learned to appreciate good voices.

His appetite for classical learning was fed at Georgetown College, where he enrolled after high school and a year of preaching and missionary work. In fact, at Georgetown, a central Kentucky college supported by the Kentucky Baptist Association, there was little attention given to traditional folk arts. Buell left his banjo at home, thinking it would be inappropriate there. However, he noticed that the ballads he was studying in his English course were some of the same ones still being sung in his native county. He began to realize also that the culture he came from--the tales, the words and expressions--were related to the life and language he was studying in literature classes. He commented that he decided his mother was an Elizabethan type of woman. So he brought his banjo to school and began to give programs. In fact he brought two banjos, the one he bought from Ben McCormick and the one given to him by his Aunt Sade, along with a dulcimer he had obtained from a neighbor family. He donated the older banjo and dulcimer to the college to start a museum. He was saddened to learn later that a group of students had broken and ruined the instruments in foolishness attending initiation rites for freshmen. This was perhaps another indication of how little his contemporaries thought of folk culture.

He majored in English and Greek and Latin in college and studied voice, aiming at improving his knowledge and skills for the Christian ministry. His voice teacher was a Mr. Bonawitz whom he described as "an unusual man...from the German court opera and from England, well-known, with a wonderful voice." He attempted piano lessons, but he could not learn to play the instrument by note after his many years of playing by ear. He finally gave it up, although he continued to play the piano by ear and often accompanied himself in singing religious songs and love songs in what he called his "good voice," meaning his trained voice. He did, of course, learn to sight-read music for singing, as a part of his voice training.

He listened to classical composers and had the opportunity of hearing such accomplished singers as John McCormick and Lawrence Tibbett. He learned to appreciate opera, and later sang operatic airs for his own enjoyment. He organized a glee club. He considered pursuing a career in music, as a concert singer. He was also interested in composing. Even before college, he had tried his hand at composing songs similar to the parlor songs of the day. Yet he never wavered in his determination to become a preacher, and he took Bible courses. Most of his musical studies was aimed toward his chosen career. He had done revivalistic singing along with his preaching even before he entered college.

During the summer of 1925, after graduation from Georgetown, Buell gave his first real folk concert, in the gymnasium at the University of Kentucky.

W.S. Taylor was the dean over there then. He'd heard me entertain the Kiwanis Club at Russellville one time....and he invited me to come there. I did it in tie and tails. Anybody that appeared in anything like that did it formally. I had a dress suit and I picked the banjo in that. It was a good concert though. I had a lot of folks down from the mountains who came to hear it.

I got the idea that I could make something out of it. I played the banjo and

BUELL KAZEE, Tenor
Folk Song Recital

Miss Mary Foote at the Piano.



ASHLAND, KENTUCKY

Thursday, February twenty-fourth

AUSPICES

Centenary Church Choir.

Above: Page from the program brochure for a 1927 recital. [See JEMFQ #17 (Spring 1970) for a reproduction and discussion of the full brochure.]

Below: Clipping from a 1928 Brunswick brochure. [See JEMFQ #46 (Summer 1977) for the full brochure.]

Vocal Teacher of Cumberland College Sings Dixie Songs



Buell Kazee and His Birthplace at Borton Fork

Buell Kazee is a trained singer and a vocal teacher of renown, but he sings the old songs of his native Mountains with that same simple appeal which makes them so different from the "High Brow" music of the music studio. He says, "Occasionally I have a chance to sit in a poor home where there are old people. I love to play their old pump organ and sing the "good old songs" to them. When tears come to their eyes I feel that I have done a good service."

That, after all, is the great thing about

Dixie Songs . . . their appeal to the finer emotions which cause the tear ducts to open and Buell Kazee knows how to sing these songs which were so closely associated with his early life in the mountains.

Don't miss the following records by Kazee:

- 213 The Butcher's Boy
- The Wagoner's Lad
- 206 The Faded Coat of Blue
- Don't Forget Me, Little Darling
- 210 Snow Deer
- Red Wing

lectured. I gave the mountain tunes. I gave hoedowns and ballads mostly. One of my music teachers played piano accompaniment to some of my ballads. Then I had another feature--Negro spirituals, and I dressed like a finely-dressed Negro performer, in blackface and wore a long coat and a big hat. I came out in concert style....and sang Negro spirituals. They were good too. I mean I did well with it. I never made any money at it, then.

His first job after college was as director of religious education and music at the First Baptist Church in Chickasha, Oklahoma, but, as he put it, "they had some problems that I didn't want to get into....and I came back home."

I was out of a job and my teacher, Mr. Bonawitz, had heard from a woman in Ashland who had a music school, and she wanted a man to help her--to take over business management. So I went up there and we made a deal. I lived there for a year or more. I soon saw that her school wasn't as substantial as it looked to be in the beginning, so I dropped out of that and took my own private studio--taught voice. I studied with a tenor from St. John the Divine in New York. He came to Ashland for the summers, and I studied with him there....When I began teaching, of course, I learned more than I did studying. I stayed in Ashland another year and got a call to go to Cumberland College, Williamsburg, Kentucky, and teach voice and Bible which was just my dish.

While Buell was in Ashland, he was "discovered."

I was down in this music shop there listening to records, and he [the man who owned the store] was making money hand over fist, because Armco Steel Corporation had attracted a large group of people who were in that level. The man was a very sharp business man. He said, "Do you know any of this music?" I said, "I know all of it." He asked if I played anything. I said, "I play the banjo." "Where's your banjo?" "It's in my studio." He went up there with me, and I played a tune or two and sang a ballad or two, and he said, "Boy, they'll throw their arms around you in New York. I didn't know what he meant. He was a scout for Brunswick. So in three weeks we were in New York, recording...."

We went up on the train, and we had a big time. This man [W.S. Carter] went with me. He had plenty of money. He thought the Brunswick Company would take care of all expenses. I only got forty dollars a record the first time....and the fare had to come out of my earnings. I think I made nine records--three hundred and sixty dollars, and when we took the train fare out, there wasn't much left. I believe he also took something out for the hotel....

His first recording was "John Hardy" with "Roll On, John" on the reverse side. Vernon Dalhart and Carson Robison came to hear him record. They were very popular at the time through their recordings. Buell remembered Dalhart as "a big handsome fellow....as nice as he could be." He commented to Buell, "Boy, you've got something there." Buell had the same problem that Dalhart, a light opera singer, had--somehow to forget all of his voice training and sound "country" or folk. He felt that Dalhart over-nasalized in order to sound like a traditional singer. The key, rather, was to sing with a tight voice, to sing high in the throat, instead of from the diaphragm as a trained singer is encouraged to do.

I had to make a record seven or eight times to get it bad enough to sell. They'd say, "Buell, that's fine but it won't ring on a cash register." I'd ask, "Well, what do you want?" "Well, that vibrato and resonance, if you can cut that out." If you want to sound contry, you sing with a light throat. But I can hear the trained voice all the way through my recordings."

The fact that recording companies were never interested in his "good" voice was a disappointment to Buell. He took his music seriously, both the folk and the trained-voice material. No one in commercial music appeared interested in the latter. He recorded a great deal of material in his trained voice--religious songs, love songs, popular numbers and a few show tunes, but all were done on poor equipment and are not adequate for a record. On the relation between his two singing styles, he said:

I have always tried to keep in the trained voice--I don't know what you call it--some of that plaintive sound, the heart of singing, not let it become purely mechanical. I think that is a good thing to retain. Now if I'm interpreting folk songs, I sing as they [the folk] did. I appreciate all kinds of music.

He mentioned that the main reason he began recording for Brunswick was that he had a \$1,250 debt from college for \$3.00-per-hour voice lessons that he was anxious to pay off. As it turned out, this was not a very good way to make money, since on most he received only a flat payment and

no royalty.

You see, what they did was to release records every month. If you released ten records on a fellow, people would buy two or three of them, that's all, but if you put them out one a month, they'd buy all of them, if they liked you. I'd make lots of records at one recording and they'd release them one each month.

I was about to go with Victor when they raised the price they paid on my records. That's why I got \$75. My contract had run out. They were very much surprised that I would do a thing like that. I said, "Well, I haven't heard anything about a renewal." So they upped the price to \$75. Then we thought that was very good.

He remembers being in Salyersville and hearing someone say, "There's Buell Kazee. He'll never have to work another lick--making all that money on records." He cut a total of fifty-eight sides (of which fifty-two were released) between 1927 and 1929.

They said it took 5,000 records of each to supply the trade, with samples and all....I don't believe I was ever a big seller. The second time I went to record, they told me my best seller was 15,000 records. I guess that was pretty good then. That was "The Roving Cowboy" and "Pretty Mohee." I sold a lot in Texas.

He would have sold more records, no doubt, if he had been interested in promoting them, but this notion did not appeal to him.

They wanted me to go to Texas and places like that and play the county and state fairs, and they also wanted me to go up the hollows to every picture show and popularize them [the records]. I didn't have time for that. I never went into it with that idea....I got a letter from Jimmie O'Keefe in New York wanting me to go to Chicago and be on the staff of, I guess it was WLS. That must have been 1929.... Well, I couldn't go that way. My life was cast in a different direction, you see, and there wasn't any reason to consider it. He said he'd recommend me, that I had a good chance; they were asking about me. But I never gave it a second thought. I was going to preach all of my life.

In 1928, Buell married Lucille Jones of Corbin, Kentucky. To them were born two sons, Allan in 1930 and Philip in 1933. He must have been happy in the marriage, for when his wife left him in 1940, he called it "one of life's great tragedies" which brought him "great anguish and embarrassment." Buell spoke very little about the break-up of his marriage except for his great sorrow and feeling of anguish and embarrassment. He had seen the break coming for a year or more, and he prayed that it would not come. When his wife went away, leaving the boys with him, he went through a dark period, both personally and spiritually. He wrote in his book, *Faith is the Victory*, "I.... had prepared to fold up my ministry and retire to seclusion," but his faith held strong and he realized that he was not alone in trouble. "My experiences are not singular," he wrote. "Many a life has been shattered by sorrow. I was preaching a life of faith; now I was to see if it worked." His faith did work for him, and out of his travail came the above-quoted book. This experience had a profound effect on him. It made him a more humble man, one who was tolerant and sympathetic toward others. It heightened his sense of tragedy. He said once that the tragic ballads were especially meaningful to persons who themselves had experienced deep trouble. They had a cathartic effect and thus were important psychologically, he thought.

He ran the household and reared his two sons, with help from a niece, Luva Preston, who lived with them while attending high school and who assisted with household chores. Both Allan and Philip became Baptist ministers, with pastorates in Tennessee currently. Phil is a banjo picker and singer in the style of his father, performing most of Buell's favorites.

Buell married Jennie Turnmeyer, a teacher, in 1950. Her mother and maternal grandparents were natives of Magoffin County. She supported Buell in his ministry and musical career. She accompanied him on many of his trips to festivals, such as to the Mariposa Festival in Canada and the UCLA festival. After he retired from the active ministry, they moved to Winchester, Kentucky, where they lived until he died on 31 August 1976. Mrs. Kazee continues to live and teach in Winchester.

Although Buell aimed to preach all of his life, he did consider secular pursuits and, in addition to teaching in a voice studio, he taught for a year--Bible and voice--at Cumberland College, then a junior college in southeastern Kentucky, supported by Kentucky Baptists. He left then to explore the possibility of getting on the Chautauqua lecture circuit with his musical program, but before this opportunity materialized, his father had a stroke and he remained in Kentucky. He taught private voice students in Corbin and Williamsburg for a year and then went into business with his brother-in-law to run music and appliance stores in Corbin and Harlan. At first business was good, but since many of the sales were on time payments, the stores went bankrupt in 1930, when

THE BRUNSWICK-BALKE-CELLENDER CO.

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Brunswick
PHONOGRAPHS AND RECORDS

RECORDING LABORATORIES

799 SEVENTH AVENUE

NEW YORK

May 21, 1928

Mr. Buell Kazee
Williamsburg College
Williamsburg, Kentucky

Dear Buell:

I acknowledge your letter of May 16th. Please permit me to hold this on my desk for a few days and after thoroughly digesting its contents, I will write you again.

In the sense of fairness I do not want to jump to any conclusion and want to see what definite outside figure we can stand based on your record sales. Once I have reviewed this I will again write you.

With best regards, I am

Very cordially yours

BRUNSWICK RECORDING LABORATORIES

JO'K:LA

James O'Keefe

miners were laid off in the Depression.

The Brunswick Company also went broke in 1930, and that was the end of Buell's recording career--at least for thirty years. He turned to preaching full-time and singing at revivals and other religious functions. He served a church in Morehead for twenty-two years, taught for seven years at the Lexington Baptist Bible College and then became pastor of a new church, Devondale Baptist, in Lexington which he served for twelve years, until he retired from the active ministry at the age of sixty-nine.

Buell's ministerial career was not unrelated to his other career in traditional music, although he tried to keep the two separate. He was a traditional person and he cared little for innovations in either music or theology. He thought the Nashville Sound was a long way from country and the folk. Likewise, he thought modern church practices and much that modern ministers were preaching and doing were a long way from scriptural teachings as he understood them. He never took the easy way of conformity and thus his ministry was at times a rocky road. He scolded church-members, theologians and administrators from his denomination alike. He deplored all of the emphasis on "programs" in the Southern Baptist Convention and other denominations, in place, he thought, of spiritual commitment. He preached a simple gospel of reconciliation to God, and faith, and he believed that "works" would follow. He believed that Christians should be alert to the temptations to get involved in good programs as a substitute for this relationship with God. He held to the belief that the church is not of this world and should keep "unspotted from the world." He spoke out against and wrote to Billy Graham about his emphasis on worldly success, for example, having persons on his show that are successful in sports or show business. His scorn was total for the evangelist who had the yo-yo champion of the world on his television show. Buell's comment was that, "my witness, alongside his, would not be worth a nickel, even with my fifty-seven years of preaching." He did not understand how Johnny Cash could appear in Billy Graham's crusades and play Las Vegas too, "I just don't see how he could mix it that way," he said. This observation explains why Buell never wanted to mix his banjo playing and ballad singing with his preaching. It did not seem appropriate to use one to promote the other.

His stands on religion put him at odds with many of his fellow Southern Baptists, and he believed that gradually he came to be ignored at associational and state meetings when nominations were open. But he stuck to his beliefs which had been forged through private study, thought and prayer. He had his associates and followers, however, who liked what he preached. He published two books on religion, *Faith is the Victory* in 1951 (Crescendo Book Publications) and *The Church and its Ordinances* in 1965 (The Challenge Press). *Mused Uncle Mose* (privately printed) was a collection of sayings attributed to the janitor of his church in Morehead. He had a third theological book almost ready for publication at the time of his death.

He had also written an autobiography, which is unpublished, and had begun a book on his banjo techniques. He tried his hand at composing songs, first with popular parlor-type songs when he was in high school. He sent these early compositions off to what he called "the Sucker Center" and paid them to "publish" them, getting several printed copies in return. "I had to learn my lesson like everybody else," he said. His best-known composition is "Steel A-Going Down," that resulted from his working on the railroad with black steeldrivers when he was a youth. He was very much interested in using traditional materials in compositions for choral groups. This idea had been in his head from college days when he was impressed with the fact that Percy Grainger, the English composer, had based many of his compositions on folk tunes. One of his favorite religious songs was "The White Pilgrim" (sometime "The Lone Pilgrim") composed by B.F. White and appearing first in *The Sacred Harp*. Buell and Lewis Henry Horton (who taught music at Morehead, Transylvania and the University of Kentucky) published a cantata based on this song which is still available from the Belwin Mills Co. in New York. The foreword was written by George Pullen Jackson. He also composed an operetta entitled *The Wagoner Lad*, from one of his favorite folk songs. This composition contained some of Buell's favorite folk songs, and he envisioned it in a festival-like setting. Of the songs he recorded, he composed "The Cowboy's Trail" and "The Dying Cowboy" and wrote the music for "The Hobo's Last Ride."

I wrote the words and music to "The Cowboy's Trail," and I tried to put into that one everything about the West you could get in--the pony, the Indian, ranch lights--more of a novelty than anything. It is pretty--turned out well. Indian stories are popular with us people, and the Indian coupled with the West, with the cowboy, I guess, has been a popular thing for a long time--even behind my memory.

While he was recording for Brunswick, he was asked to write some skits that might be recorded, since those done by the "Skillet Lickers" band had proved popular. He composed and recorded two, "A Mountain Boy Makes His First Record" and "Election Day in Kentucky." These are humorous pieces, but Buell did not look on them as major accomplishments.

During the years when he was preaching full-time, he also continued to give programs of folk music. Through his friendship with Lewis Henry Horton of the Morehead State College music

department, he performed for students at least once a year, and most of his folk concerts were local. He had no trouble with his parishioners about his secular music because, as he said, "they like it too." And he added, "I never mixed it with the church." He did evangelistic singing "all over the country, with great preachers in time gone by." He was also in demand as a revival preacher, although he commented that he was "more a man to strengthen the spiritual life of the church" than he was a straight evangelist.

The recordings Buell made between 1927 and 1929 were soon unavailable in this country after the collapse of Brunswick, but they were reissued in the British Isles and Australia and were available longer there, although Buell did not receive royalty payments for these repressings. It was not until 1958 that a new record on Buell Kazee was issued. Gene Bluestein, teaching at the University of Michigan and traveling in eastern Kentucky in 1956, was directed to Buell by Leonard Roberts, a folklorist. Bluestein was well-acquainted with Kazee's recordings but was surprised that he was still living and performing. He spent two days interviewing Buell and recording him in his living room. Buell maintained that he had no idea that any of the material would be used, other than in Bluestein's doctoral studies. Yet Bluestein sold the material to Folkways and a record, "Buell Kazee Sings and Plays" (FS3810) was issued. Buell was unhappy with the results and commented as follows.

He spent a couple of days with me recording, just like we're doing now. It was not professionally done. I mean by that I did not play well. I was doing just like I would pick up a banjo here and pick something for you. It's not good. The conversation's not good. I remember using the word "quirlicue" [curlicue] twice. I know there's no such word. That embarrasses me. I made some remarks that he ought not to have put on there. I said Vernon Dalhart copyrighted "The Prisoner's Song" and made \$60,000 out of it. That was an awful statement to publish you. It's on that record. I wouldn't have said that for anything in the world.

He also regretted that he had sung only fragments or incomplete versions of some of the songs that appeared on the record. He felt that it was not a good representation of his repertory. And he reported difficulties with the business side of the record. He acknowledged that he had been notified that a record was to be made, but added:

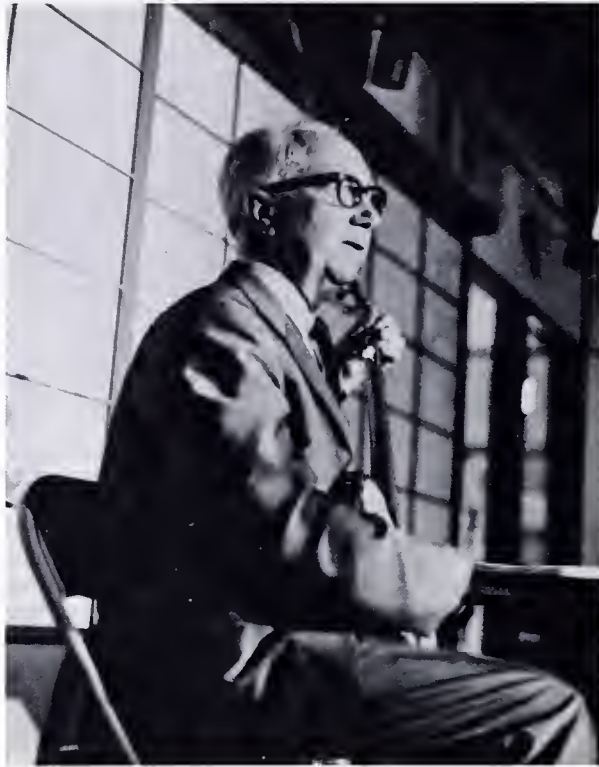
I kept waiting for a contract and couldn't get any. Finally I wrote to the man [Moses Asch, President of Folkways] and told him not to issue it unless he was going to give me a royalty on it. He wasn't going to give me anything....I finally had to sell it to him. I beat him around until I got one royalty check--a hundred-and-some dollars. It was about two years before I got that. Then I got one a year or two later, after browbeating him, and finally I told him to make me an offer and I'd sell it to him.

Although Buell did not like the Folkways recording and though it does have shortcomings, it is nevertheless an important record, in sound and word, of Buell Kazee, his life and music. It is a great pity that it was not done under more ideal circumstances, with Buell prepared to present material worthy of his sensitivity and talent.

Perhaps the problem with Bluestein and Folkways kept him from making another album in the latter part of his life. He was taped with good equipment by John Cohen, a film maker and record producer around 1965 and by Mark Wilson, who then worked for Rounder Records, in 1972. Both Wilson and Cohen were much interested in his banjo tunes, but Buell was reluctant to be presented as just another mountain banjo picker. Wilson reports that, even though the recordings were done for a record, "We both decided not to pursue the project further, largely because of differences in what we wanted out of the record. I wanted more banjo solos--he wanted 'Steel A-Going Down' et al." Buell himself made a professional recording in Newark, Ohio, arranged by his nephew Lewis Franklin Kazee, who played guitar accompaniment. This recording was not as good in quality as the ones made by Wilson and Cohen. This writer talked with Buell about the possibility of making a record a year or so before he died. He was willing but wanted to be in control of the material so that it reflected his tastes and best skills. Unfortunately money was not available to do the album at the time, and no recordings for that purpose were done. However, June Appal Records of Whitesburg, Kentucky, will shortly release a record based on the Mark Wilson tapes mentioned above.

Rediscovery in his older years was not a totally happy experience for Buell. He enjoyed the notice he received, enjoyed talking to interested persons and performing before appreciative audiences. Yet he had a strong reserve that kept him from being influenced too much by fame. Also, he was not altogether charmed by some of the young folk revivalists who appeared at his door or whom he met or observed at festivals.

Of course I'm pretty conservative, when there's a Biblical reason for it. I believe that many of the things we are smiling at as if they were products of ignorance, we haven't investigated the Bible thoroughly on. I don't like to scissor the Bible. There is some reason.



Two recent photographs of Buell Kazee. (Courtesy of the author, Loyal Jones)

He was concerned with modern morality, and yet he had a tolerant view of human nature, from his basically Calvinist theological position. But he was not just traditional in religious matters. He had an old-fashioned patriotism, and he was constantly being offended during the 1960s with the anti-Vietnam protests and related social turmoil. He played the Newport Folk Festival in 1968, along with Pete Seeger and Joan Baez. He had been invited to play before but declined because he thought it might be rowdy. He said it was actually a calm affair. But he was cornered by reporters who nudged him into saying things about his fellow performers and their "protest" music that he later regretted.

He sang at a festival at the University of Chicago organized by a group of students and spent the night on a knotty couch in a dormitory.

But he had many good experiences at festivals and concerts elsewhere--at the Universities of Illinois and Indiana, UCLA, Morehead and Fresno State, Campbellsville and Berea Colleges, in Seattle, at Mariposa and elsewhere.

He usually didn't like just to appear on a program. He wanted enough time to tell the story of his music, to create a spell, in much the same way that Jean Ritchie does in concert. He did not like to rush through a ballad and cut out verses. He was witty and entertaining in his comments. He was the master of his material and instrument. He put on a good show, but there was more to him than that. He had an integrity and sincerity about him that impressed those who heard him. Many might not agree with his ideas or his interpretation of his culture, but he was respected.

A few words on his singing and playing style are in order. As has been said before, he had two styles of singing--in his folk voice and in his trained voice. His voice tone (especially in the high ranges), articulation and timing were certainly improved by his voice studies. Yet, he tried to sing in the authentic way he had learned as a boy, when he sang folk songs. "I can almost go back to my original voice," he said, and yet he also said that he could hear his trained voice coming through even as he strove for authenticity.

His banjo style was what some have called "frailing" and others "clawhammer" and is known throughout the Appalachians and elsewhere. He said, "I play like the fellows around Mash Fork played. That's the only way I know." He did have one distinctive variation in his thumb movement. Most frailers let the thumb drop from the fifth string to the second or third strings occasionally to get extra notes. This is usually called "drop-thumb" picking or "double-thumbng." Buell achieved the same result with an occasional backward stroke of the thumb--that is, he brought his thumb up across the desired string, instead of picking the string with the usual downward motion. He had another somewhat unusual technique of alternating between the lower two strings and the upper two with the downward beat of his index finger, particularly when he was keeping rhythm as he sang the melody. This produced a rocking sound of high-low, high-low notes. He preferred to call his style "picking" rather than frailing because he carefully articulated the tune with a downward stroke of the nail of his index finger. His accompaniment is distinctive, especially on the ballads. It is a rapid welter of sound but with the tune creeping along at his singing tempo, discernible from the other sound. He also did an up-picking style that is common, but he rarely used it. On some slow-tempo songs he strummed as if he were playing a tenor banjo. He played in some eleven tunings of which he said, "I learned most of them from somebody else." The banjo he played for almost fifty years was a Gibson ("The Gibson"). He bought it at Scott's Music Store in Ashland after his first recording session in 1927 (he borrowed a banjo for the first session).

The Appalachian mountains have bred many fine musicians, and Buell Kazee was among the best. He was an extraordinary ballad singer, with a versatile voice and a profound sense of the place of the ballad in musical literature. As a Baptist minister, he had a deep sense of tradition, in both theology and music. Because of his ministerial duties, he had relatively little time for folk music, but what he did, he did with integrity and arresting style. He knew many rare ballads and songs, and he was knowledgeable in music and folklore, so that he preserved with discerning ear and voice the modes and style from another age. Bess Lomax Hawes introduced him at the Newport Folk Festival as the man from whom so many modern folk singers had gotten songs. He was an important link with traditions that are becoming less distinct as styles and customs change.

SOURCES

Most of the information for this story of Buell Kazee's life came from interviews by the author on 10 July 1974, 20 March 1975 and 13 May 1975; from tapes made by John Cohen and Mark Wilson and from the following sources:

"Discography of Recordings by Buell Kazee," *JEMF Quarterly*, 6 (Spring 1970), pp. 19-22.

"Buell Kazee Talking to Joe Bussard, Wilson Reeves and Leon Kagrise," *Old Time Music*, 6 (Autumn 1972), pp. 6-10.

Brochure notes to Folkways FS 3310, *Buell Kazee Sings and Plays* (1958).

-- Center for Appalachian Studies
Berea College, Berea, Ky.

THE AUSTRALIAN REGAL & REGAL ZONOPHONE SERIES NUMERICAL (1927-58), Pt. 4

G23166	TEX MORTON	T1523	The Railroad Bum
1 July 1937		T1524	Fanny Bay Blues
G23167	TEX MORTON	T1521	Barnacle Bill, The Sailor No. 2
1 July 1937		T1522	Peg Leg Jack
G23168	THE GIRLS OF THE GOLDEN WEST (MILDRED & DOROTHY GOOD)	OA 77194	My Little Old Nevada Home
		OA 77212	Sing Me A Song Of The Mountains
G23169	THE CARTER FAMILY	OA59024	Two Sweethearts
		OA71610	Happiest Days Of All
G23173	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4368-1	Drifting Down the Golden River
		AR4370-1	Climbing Up the Golden Stairs
G23176	HARRY TORRANI	AR4591-1	Yodelling to Carolina
		AR4590-1	Yodelling Erick
G23181	THE TUNE WRANGLERS	OA02875	The One Rose in my Heart
		OA02877	In the Shadow of the Pines
G23182	THREE TOBACCO TAGS	OA02558	We'll Know Each Other Up There
		OA02557	Mother's Torn and Faded Bible
G23183	ERNEST TUBB	OA02953	The Last Thoughts of Jimmie Rodgers
		OA02952	The Passing of Jimmie Rodgers
G23184	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA58972	I've Only Loved Three Women
Nov 1937	J.R. & SARA CARTER	OA69413	The Wonderful City

Note: G23188 through G23208 (immediately following) were transferred onto Regal Zonophone from H.M.V. in 1937.

G23188	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA41736	Dear Old Sunny South by the Sea
(HMV EA 1228)		OA70645	Roll Along Kentucky Moon
G23189	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA45091	Mississippi Moon
(EA1253)		OA54856	I'm Lonesome Too
G23190	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA56450	The Land of my Boyhood Dreams
(EA1303)		OA76327	Old Love Letters
G23191	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA76140	The Cowhand's Last Ride
(EA1362)		OA76192	Old Pal of my Heart
G23192	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA70646	Hobo's Meditation
(EA1374)		OA70649	Down the Old Road to Home
G23193	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA40752	Mother Was A Lady
(EA1382)		OA56449	Whisper Your Mother's Name
G23194	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA56618	A Drunkard's Child
(EA1385)		OA76328	Mississippi Delta Blues
G23195	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA58961	Mother, The Queen of my Heart
(EA1390)		OA58964	Whippin' That Old T.B.
G23196	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA54849	My Blue Eyed Jane
(EA1399)		OA67135	Jimmie the Kid
G23197	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA39768	Sleep, Baby, Sleep
(EA1400)		OA39767	The Soldier's Sweetheart
G23198	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA54862	The Mystery of Number Five
(EA1401)		OA56595	Nobody Knows But Me
G23199	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA67133	T.B. Blues
(EA1402)		OA56594	Mississippi River Blues
G23200	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA58970	Peach Picking Time Down in Georgia
(EA1403)		OA58963	Rock All Our Babies to Sleep
G23201	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA73324	In the Hills of Tennessee
(EA1404)		OA73326	Miss the Mississippi and You
G23202	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA41740	In the Jailhouse Now
(EA1406)		OA73327	Sweet Mama, Hurry Home or I'll Be Gone

G23203 (EA1405)	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA76191	The Yodelling Ranger
		OA73325	Prairie Lullaby
G23204 (EA1489)	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA69032	Rodger's Puzzle Record
		OA76141	I'm Free (From the Chain Gang Now)
G23205 (EA1566)	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA56620	Why Did You Give Me Your Love
		OA54456	I've Ranged, I've Roamed and I've Travelled
G23206 (EA1567)	JIMMIE RODGERS	OA76160	Jimmie Rodgers' Last Blue Yodel
		OA76332	Years Ago
G23207 (EA1454)	WILF CARTER	OA7770	The Round-Up in the Fall
		OA7780	Take Me Back to Old Montana
G23208 (EA1565)	WILF CARTER	OA88732	I'm Gonna Ride to Heaven on a Streamline Train
		OA86387	The Two-Gun Cowboy
G23209	BLUE RIDGE HILLBILLIES	OA102812	Blue Eyes
		OA102814	Lonesome
G23210	WILF CARTER	OA102279	Dreamy Prairie Moon
		OA102274	Round Up Time in Heaven
G23211	WILF CARTER	OA102259	Roamin' My Whole Life Away
		OA102261	Yodelling Cow-Girl
G23220	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4516-1	On the Trail Where the Sun Hangs Low
		AR4517-1	Roll Me Home Deep Waters
G23231	THE HILL BILLIES	AR3696-1	There's Gold in Dem Thar Hills
		AR3697-1	Headin' Home
G23232	WILF CARTER	OA7764	My Swiss Moonlight Lullaby
		OA102076	Midnight, The Unconquered Outlaw
G23238	THE HILL BILLIES	AR359201	That Silver Haired Daddy of Mine
		AR4559-1	Across the Great Divide
G23256	HARRY TORRANI	AR4633-1	Yodel and Smile
		AR4634-1	My Guitar and Me
G23267	JESSE RODGERS	OA07398	The Little Girl Dressed in Blue
		OA07403	Just One Little Kiss
G23271	FRED KIRBY & BOB PHILLIPS	OA94684	My Carolina Sweetheart
		OA94682	My Darling Nell
G23272	JESSE RODGERS	OA07401	Back in Jail Again
		OA07404	Second Class Hotel
G23273	DELMORE BROTHERS (ALTON & RABON)	OA07092	Are You Marching With the Saviour?
		OA07094	Don't Forget Me Darling
G23274	CLIFF CARLISLE	OA102653	My Travelling Night
		OA107163	Pay Day Fight
G23278 26 Oct 1937	TEX MORTON	T1540	My Sweetheart's In Love With a Swiss Mountaineer
		T1539	The Big Rock Candy Mountains
G23279 26 Oct 1937	TEX MORTON	T1541	Rocking Alone in an Old Rocking Chair
		T1542	There are Tearstains on Your Letter, Mother Dear
G23360	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4482-1	Evening by the Moonlight
		AR4481-1	In the Moonlight's Glow
G23362	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4761-1	My Swiss Hilly Billy
		AR4760-1	The Cross Eyed Cowboy on the Cross Eyed Horse
G23374 Apr 1938	THE BLUE SKY BOYS (BILL & EARL BOLICK)	OA02576	You Give Me Your Love
	WADE MAINER-ZEKE MORRIS	OA02534	Dear Daddy, You're Gone
G23378	EDDIE COOK	AL 74	The Yodelling Accordeon Man
		AL 75	Mountain Refrain
G23382 10 Mar 1938	TEX MORTON	T1571	The Greatest Mistake of my Life
		T1572	I'm Dreaming Tonight of the Old Folks

G23383	TEX MORTON	T1573	The Letter Edged in Black
10 Mar 1938		T1574	The Yellow Rose of Texas
G23401	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4836-1	There's A Gold Mine in the Sky
		AR4834-1	The Lonesome Trail Ain't Lonesome Any More
G23415	TEX MORTON & HARRY	T1576	My Blue Ridge Mountain Home
12 Apr 1938	THOMPSON	T1578	Weeping Willow Tree
G23416	TEX MORTON & HARRY	T1577	When It's Night Time in Nevada
12 Apr 1938	THOMPSON	T1579	Red River Valley
G23427	HARRY TORRANI	AR4842-1	Nursery Rhyme Yodel
		AR4841-1	Scottie The Yodeller
G23436	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4885-1	On the Sunny Side of the Rockies
		AR4886-1	She's the Daughter of the Old Grey Mare
G23438	JESSE RODGERS	OA99428	Lonely Hillbilly
	FRED KIRBY & DON WHITE	OA013051	My Sweet Little Mother of the Range
G23442	BILL BOYD & HIS COWBOY	OA014053	Cross Eyed Gal on the Hill
	RAMBLERS	OA07422	Little Wooden Whistle
G23448	WILF CARTER	OA102256	Old Alberta Plains
		OA102070	The Last Ride Down Lariat Trail
G23449	WILF CARTER	OA06191	How My Yodelling Days Began
		OA102075	Covered Wagon Headin' West
G23450	WILF CARTER	OA06187	Where is my Wandering Boy Tonight?
			(on later pressings: 'Where is my Boy Tonight')
		OA06192	Answer to Swiss Moonlight Lullaby
G23451	WILF CARTER	OA102071	Rose of my Heart
		OA06189	My Little Yoho Lady
G23452	WILF CARTER	OA102260	The Hobo's Yodel
		OA102251	Goodbye Little Pal of my Dreams
G23456	WILF CARTER	OA06188	There's a Loveknot in my Lariat
		OA102281	Roll Along Moonlight Yodel
G23465	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4762-1	The Cowboy's Dream
		AR4835-1	Where I Ain't Been Before
G23474	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4558-1	Little Black Bronco
		AR4560-1	Looking Down on the Moon
G23475	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4522-1	Waltzing Matilda (An Australian Song)
		AR4523-1	A Shanty in a One Horse Town
G23478	HARRY TORRANI	AR4986-1	Dwarfs' Yodel Song
		AR4987-1	Yodelling Coon
G23486	HANK (THE YODELLING	OA8282	The Blue Velvet Band
	RANGER)	OA8278	Blue for Old Hawaii
G23493	TEX MORTON	T1594	Sergeant Small
27 July 1938		T1593	The Martins and the Coys
	NOTE: This record was re-called a few days after issue under threat of court action by Sgt. Small. It was subsequently deleted. T1593 was later reissued on G23529.		
G23494	TEX MORTON	T1595	I Left My Heart in Red River Valley
27 July 1938		T1596	Bird in a Gilded Cage
G23527	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4283-1	Memories of the Old Homestead, pt. 1
		AR4284-1	Memories of the Old Homestead, pt. 2
G23529	TEX MORTON	T1593	The Martins and the Coys
6 Sept 1938 (T1611 only)		T1611	Move Along Baldy
G23534	THE SINGING STOCKMEN	T1618	When It's Night Time in Nevada
	(NORM & ARTHUR SCOTT)	T1619	Hill Billy Valley
G23539	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4899-1	Daddy's Old Guitar
		AR4900-1	Cross-Eyed Sue
G23540	THE HILL BILLIES	AR4763-1	Are You Leading Me Home, Mountain Trail?
		AR4833-1	Sweet Nora O'Neal

G23551	WILF CARTER	OA8289 OA8291	Everybody's Been Some Mother's Darling Dusty Trails
G23562	THE HILL BILLIES	AR5076-1 AR5077-1	Rollin' Plains An Old Saddle for Sale
G23566	HARRY TORRANI	AR4988-1 AR4989-1	Crazy Yodel Mountain Spook Yodel
G23567	WILF CARTER	OA8288 OA8290	I Wish I Had Never Seen Sunshine You'll Always be Mine in My Dreams
G23576	BILL BOYD & HIS COWBOY RAMBLERS	OA022309	Don't Drop a Slug in the Slot
	PINE STATE PLAYBOYS	OA018736	Don't Say Goodbye if You Love Me
G23582 21 Nov 1938	TEX MORTON	Tl637 Tl638	Young Pat Maloney Dying Duffer's Prayer
G23586	THE HILL BILLIES	AR5078-1 AR5079-1	Ride, Tenderfoot, Ride Memories of an Old Cowhand
G23593	GENE AUTRY	LA1668 LA1675	Ride, Tenderfoot, Ride The Old Trail
G23594	TEX COCHRANE	OA8248 OA8249	I Miss You, Dear Old Dad Goin' Home in the Twilight
G23595	THE TUNE WRANGELRS	OA022149 OA022156	Old Montana Moon Chopo
G23596	BILL CARLISLE	OA013012 OA013013	I'll Always Be Your Little Darling I Know What It Means to be Lonesome
G23597	THE TUNE WRANGLERS	OA022155 OA022158	Blue Bonnet Rhythm Rainbow
G23604	THE HILL BILLIES	AR5111-1 AR5110-1	Alexander's Ragtime Band Little Lady Make Believe
G23608	GENE AUTRY	LA1469 LA1669	My Star in the Sky Goodbye, Pinto
G23621	THE HILL BILLIES	AR5112-1 AR5113-1	When Mother Nature Sings Her Lullaby Give Me a Ride on Your Horse Buddy
G23629	BILL BOYD & HIS COWBOY RAMBLERS	OA022316 OA022317	Tableau Clog Dance Pedestal Clog Dance
G23631 21 Nov 1938	TEX MORTON	Tl636 Tl640	Dreaming With Tears in my Eyes My Old Crippled Daddy
G23633	THE TUNE WRANGLERS	OA022150 OA022157	Little Love Ship Solita
G23634	BILL CARLISLE	OA07074 OA07076	A Shack by the Side of the Road Why Did the Blue Skies Turn Grey
G23636	EDDIE COOK	AL162 AL163	The Yodelling Busman My Old Killarney Home
G23648	THE HILL BILLIES	AR5171-1 AR5172-1	Hill Billy Medley, pt. 1 Hill Billy Medley, pt. 2
G23658 June 1939	THREE TOBACCO TAGS	OA018694 OA18692	I Have a Little Home I Love You Best of All
G23659 June 1939	CLIFF CARLISLE	OA102654 OA107165	Two Little Sweethearts New Memories of You That Haunt Me
G23662	JOE WERNER & THE RAMBLERS	OA022000	Just Thinking
G23664	THE FOUR ACES	OA022056 OA022057	Beautiful Mary More to Pity
G23666	BILL BOYD & HIS RAMBLERS	OA022307 OA022320	Someone in Heaven is Thinking of You I've Got Those Oklahoma Blues

(To be continued)

FOLK MUSIC AND THE PHONOGRAPH RECORD:

INTRODUCTION TO A SERIES

By David Evans

The papers in this and the next issue of the JEMFO are the result of three sessions on "Folk Music and the Phonograph Record" held at annual meetings of the American Folklore Society, two sessions in 1975 at New Orleans and one in 1976 at Philadelphia. I decided to organize these sessions after I was appointed Record Review Editor of the Journal of American Folklore. My hope was to bring together professional and academic folklorists with the mostly non-academic researchers and record producers who had been working with various forms of folk music so that profitable exchanges and greater understanding between the two groups could occur. Whether this goal was achieved remains to be seen, but at least a groundwork was laid for future cooperation and the papers that were presented highlighted the diverse aspects of the work that is going on in this field.

The paper by D. K. Wilgus is a good guide to how far folklorists have come in recognizing the importance of the phonograph record to their discipline and how far they still have to go. Wilgus himself has been one of the pioneers in advancing and bringing academic respectability to the study of commercially recorded folk and folk-related music. Keith Cunningham and Bruce Bastin are almost

unique figures in the sense that they have academic degrees in folklore and are the directors of organizations that produce records. Both organizations produce well documented albums with a regional focus, Cunningham's on Arizona and Bastin's on the black American South. In their papers they discuss their motivations and the problems of setting up record companies of this sort that cater to a very specialized market. Chris Strachwitz is not a formally trained folklorist, but few would dispute the fact that he is one of the most knowledgeable people in the country on American folk music. His Arhoolie Record Company is one of the oldest, largest, and most successful of those that specialize in folk music. It covers a remarkably broad range of material and has been a leader in presenting little known forms of folk music to the public, especially non-English-language material. His paper provides a most useful introduction to the very practical problems of producing and distributing an LP record of folk music. My own background is that of an academic folklorist with an interest in records but without a production company of my own. My paper is based on ten years of experience in "peddling" the products of my field work to a variety of companies that have generously taken the risk of producing records of highly esoteric material.

RECORD REVIEWING IN FOLKLORE JOURNALS -- 1947-1975

By D. K. Wilgus

Because it seems that I have had the longest span of continual record reviewing and the longest tenure as record review editor of any American folklorist, my review of reviews and reviewers could be as embarrassing as reviews of recordings by their producer (which has indeed happened). However, I shall not be much concerned with evaluating the judgments of reviewers--that is, indicating whether or not I agree with them. (I am not sure that I agree with some of my own over the years.) I am rather more concerned with general attitudes, development and implementation of policy, and many somewhat mechanical aspects of record reviewing in folklore journals.

This is not an in-depth survey of reviews of folklore records, and particularly not of scholarly notice of folklore recordings. Thus I am not concerned with seminal work by Alan Lomax, Herbert Halpert and others. Nor am I including directly reviews in such publications as Caravan, Sing Out! and The Little Sandy Review. I am dealing with reviews and review policy in major or significant folklore journals in the United States. So my failure to mention New York Folklore Quarterly, Keystone Folklore Quarterly, Bulletin of the Tennessee Folklore Society, and others does not mean that these publications have not been involved in the reviewing of recordings, but indicates that their policies have been in accord with those of other

journals discussed. The omission of Ethnomusicology from my discussion may be more serious, but on balance I think it will be found that the practices observable in Ethnomusicology either parallel those of other journals or deal with problems differing in scope or more specialized than those of the journals considered.

I embarked upon this cursory survey in the sanguine belief that it would demonstrate two theses, the first being that the large body of academic folklorists were first entranced by various "interpreters" of folk materials, then--having heard the real thing--revolted in a backlash against the concert-type performer. The published reviews do not bear this out. I still believe that, over all, this is what occurred, just as many young people who were drawn into the urban folk music revival by the Kingston Trio and similar groups later became the most vehement critics of those kinds of performances. But by the time record reviews begin to appear in folklore journals, the syndrome is not apparent, perhaps because the initial shock had passed and because many of the early reviewers were quite knowledgeable and sophisticated. The mere fact of inclusion of record reviews indicates a certain change in attitude. That the reviews reflect the attitudes of the main body of folklorists cannot, however, be maintained.

The second thesis was that recordings were treated at first like books in terms of their assignment to specialist reviewers and the publication of reviews as a series of comments following the listing of one or more recordings, with discographical information substituting for bibliographical information. Again I think the thesis is valid over all--but again it didn't work quite like that. The first record review in an American folklore journal was prophetic in its approach. Claude M. Simpson, Jr.'s "Folksong on Records: A Review of Recent Releases" in Southern Folklore Quarterly in 1947 (11: 277-9) is a review article or an essay discussing problems relevant to folk recordings in general before examining certain recordings in particular. It even ends with a "briefer mention" of recordings, thus prefiguring what was to become a general approach later. (It should be added that this is a quite perceptive review, including comments on Alan Lomax's Listen to Our Story (Brunswick B-1024) re-issue of hillbilly and race recordings, with a general plea for more discographical information to accompany releases.) This was, however, not only the first but the last record review in Southern Folklore Quarterly.

That recordings were not reviewed prior to this may be somewhat surprising. Recordings labeled "folk" had been available for a considerable time. Not to speak of industry singles with clear relevance, John Jacob Niles made his first concert recording in 1938; Moses Asch founded his first record company in 1939. Albums by Burl Ives and others were soon available. And in 1943 the Journal of American Folklore announced the issuance of the first seven volumes of recordings from the Library of Congress Archive of American Folksong (56:61, 144) but the recordings were not reviewed.

It seems that both the industry and the academy felt that sound recordings were items to be consumed, not to be seriously evaluated as were books. To be sure, individual folklorists and schools obtained copies and they were used for classroom purposes. For all the emphasis on the oral-aural characteristics of folklore--folk music in this case--commercial artifacts seemed classed as entertainment and therefore suspect, at least as far as the review sections of the journals were concerned. (To be fair, of course, there were book review sections.)

When, in 1948, the Journal of American Folklore inaugurated a policy of reviewing sound recordings, it began with a seminal essay by Charles Seeger (61:215-218) in which he called attention to the vast number of unsurveyed commercial discs (which he conservatively estimated at twenty to thirty thousand titles), and in which he set forth two alternate highways: Negro blues, swing, Broadway jazz, concert, and folk, hillbilly, citybilly, concert. Significantly, the four albums reviewed were evenly split between citybilly and reissues of hillbilly and race records, by no means "purist" selections. But significantly, also, in terms of future format, the recordings were listed individually, with titles and performers, in something like a book review format. And it should be added that the review was critical as well as enthusiastic.

In the next issue (62 [1949]:68-70) Seeger followed with a review of another four albums--Burl Ives, Josh White, Richard Dyer-Bennett. Though the recordings are discussed in an interpretative essay, the format is the familiar one for book reviews. Then no further record reviews appeared in JAF until the end of 1953.

Record reviews began appearing in Midwest Folklore in 1952, in Kentucky Folklore Record in 1955, and in Western Folklore in July 1956. A word can be said regarding this hiatus, involving both the attitude and knowledge of a review editor and the attitudes of commercial recording companies. Granted that there has been some slight change in recent years, commercial recording companies, particularly the majors, are not particularly interested in having their recordings reviewed in quarterly scholarly journals. Three months can mark the rise and fall of an issued recording; scholars and libraries account for an infinitesimal part of the sales of a major company. So, in general, unsolicited review copies seldom reach folklore journals, of which the officials of many record companies have never heard. A review editor must first seek out listings of promising items, find the address of the issuing company, establish commun-

ication, and then perhaps receive a reply offering to sell him promotion copies at DJ prices. (I might interject a note at this point that I almost never reviewed a recording not supplied by the issuing company. This may be a partial reason for the differences in reviews in the various journals. Some other editors may have been luckier or more persuasive than I was--or else they made deals I wouldn't.) Review editors in the late 1940s were not sufficiently interested in searching out issues of recording companies, particularly singles. Only with the LP revolution, the growing folk boom, and the establishment of smaller recording companies who "pushed" folk releases--not to speak of pressure from younger scholars--did the situation begin to change. (I recall trying to induce Midwest Folklore to notice hillbilly singles, but the first review was of a Jean Ritchie album [2:198-9]. The first review of hillbilly singles was, I believe, mine in the Kentucky Folklore Record (1[1955]:18) which I founded--though not specifically for that purpose.)

Since 1953, no volume of JAF has failed to include record reviews. Western Folklore's reviewing has been continuous, and from 1952 until its demise in 1963, no volume of Midwest Folklore failed to include record reviews.

Once the principle of reviewing folk recordings was established, the problem of space and format arose. Albums often cost as much as books during this period, but bulked smaller. A listing of an album, its contents, and necessary discographical information took up considerable space. Even without a title listing, the space was large. In a page and three-quarter review of five albums in Midwest Folklore, 1957 (7:248-9), the heading took up almost as much space as the review itself. Then, of course, there was the problem of the reviewer. Invited to comment on one or a small number of recordings, he wanted to have his say--with justification, of course. So, with an explosion of folk albums, the review editor faced a problem. Vis-à-vis book reviews, one recalls the story of why the white horses on the farm ate more than the black horses: there were more white horses than black horses. Tristram P. Coffin expressed it well in a record review for a journal for which he was review editor:

... This... flood of recordings that is so welcome to the folklorist at large is a steady headache to the review editors of the various folklore journals. Restricted to space and able to request so much from their already overworked reviewers these editors are now realizing they must confine their pages to major events in folk music recording... except to call attention to the fact that the discs are available, perhaps to list the songs sung, and to give a short comment on the quality of the performance... there is really not much that the record reviewer needs to say. (Midwest Folklore, 7:179)

There was, however, certainly more that the record reviewer needed to say. The problem was how to say it within the confines of the review section of a folklore journal. The way was pointed by Western Folklore in July 1956 (15: 227-228) with the establishment for its record reviews of what amounted to a record review editor who produced a quarterly column for the journal. Ed Cray's "Folk Song Discography" section has continued under various titles and various authors until the present day. The record review column was of course in an embryonic stage in that recordings were discussed paragraph by paragraph--one paragraph per recording. Faced by the same problem, I substituted for individual record reviews the column "On the Record" in the Kentucky Folklore Record, October-December, 1957 (3: 170-176). This column also began with the one record-one paragraph concept, which it did not escape until April-June of the following year (4:83-91). In 1959 I began my long tenure as record review editor of the Journal of American Folklore with a review column--though there was a backlog of individual reviews. Kenneth S. Goldstein became record review editor of Midwest Folklore, Spring, 1959; succeeded by Roger Abrahams in Spring, 1960, succeeded by Bruce Jackson, Spring, 1963.

The new approach involved first the designation of a review editor who supposedly had specialized knowledge in the field of commercial recordings and could secure promising discs for review. Secondly, the new approach placed the major responsibility for the reviewing itself on the ed-

itor, or at least the responsibility for securing the services of a reviewer who could survey a large number of recordings significantly in a brief compass. The problems of the record review editor--record reviewer were set forth by Kenneth S. Goldstein in 1959:

Every folk music record (and occasional other records as well) which are sent to him unsolicited, or are requested by him from the record producer, must be given a thorough hearing. This can be a pleasant task, but as often as not, because of the tremendously diverse interests which inspire and impel record producers to record folksongs and folksingers, the reviewer is forced to wade through literally tons of trash to find an occasional gem worth commenting upon. (Midwest Folklore, 9:219.)¹

With the demise of Midwest Folklore and the restriction of coverage in the Kentucky Folklore Record, the focus of record reviewing was restricted largely to the Journal of American Folklore and Western Folklore. We can see somewhat different approaches dictated by differing basic policies. Both journals eschewed the pattern of having a record reviewer secure recordings and subsequently parcel them out to reviewers for evaluation of an individual record or a small number of discs. The new pattern placed large responsibility on the record reviewer editor--who became the reviewer, the arbiter--almost all things to all men. Who would prefer a review of sea songs by D. K. Wilgus to one by Horace P. Beck? On the other hand, the neglect of comments of certain specialists was compensated for by a greater control of the review process. Western Folklore's policy was and is one of a single column by the record review editor. The policy of the Journal of American Folklore has been more flexible in that materials which the record review editor felt were beyond his expertise were sent for review by relevant experts. The policy of JAF was to give a wider coverage and to be more current, while that of Western Folklore was to provide a more integrated coverage of a narrower base of materials, even though the materials were less than current. This is, of course, a broad generalization. Over the years, JAF reviews became less current because of the necessity of grouping related materials for more concise handling. Thus blues, American domestic tradition, gospel tradition, British and Irish tradition, for example, could not be dispatched in one issue. So, for good or ill, comments on records were withheld until they could be presented more economically and effectively.

The problems grew in terms of both issuance of a greater number of recordings and the attempt of record review editors to encompass a greater area of tradition-related materials. To make an extreme comparison, Seeger's initial review in JAF in 1948 encompassed three and one-half pages, while a review of Afro-American recordings by David Evans in 1973 (86:413-434) spread over twenty-one pages. (That is some indication of the problem of the editor--not just the record review editor.) For a number of years I attempted to deal with the problem of covering the field by listing in the Supplement to JAF those recordings received during the year but not reviewed, classifying them by such terms as Concert, Popular, Revival, Country-Western, Hillbilly, Blues, Rhythm and Blues, Gospel, Jazz, Domestic White Tradition, and Reissues. A few figures:

- 1961: 98 recordings of various types reviewed; 32 listed.
- 1962: 232 recordings reviewed; 72 listed.
- 1963: 66 reviewed; 66 listed.
- 1964: 117 reviewed; 91 listed.
- 1965: 238 reviewed; 157 listed.
- 1966: 133 reviewed; 158 listed.
- 1967: 113 reviewed; 156 listed.

Let me stress that these data are raw. I have refrained from any statistical evaluation, not simply to refrain from boring the reader, but because there are no adequate controls. For example one should not assume that considerably fewer recordings were available in 1963 than in 1962, or that considerably fewer recordings received in 1963

were considered worthy of review than in 1962. Because special issues of JAF carried no reviews, recordings to be reviewed were stockpiled. But even the raw data indicate the magnitude of the problems of a record review editor seeking to provide some reasonable coverage in a small compass.

The problems are related to questions or criticism which may arise concerning most of the personnel involved in record reviewing in recent years. The reviewing seems to have been largely in the hands of what has been termed the "UCLA Mafia," those associated with UCLA and The John Edwards Memorial Foundation. Ed Cray of UCLA initiated the reviews in Western Folklore. He was succeeded by John Greenway (then visiting at UCLA) and Mimi Clar of UCLA. They were followed by Ed Kahn and Norm Cohen of JEMF and UCLA, with contributions by Archie Green of JEMF and Peter Welding of UCLA. During my 1959-1973 tenure as JAF record review editor, I was absent for a year in Ireland and was spelled by Norm Cohen, with help from Archie Green, Barret Hansen of UCLA, and Alan Jabbour (then at UCLA). In 1974 I was succeeded by Alan Jabbour, and he by David Evans (trained in folklore at UCLA). And recently Anne Briegleb of UCLA's ethnomusicology program has been succeeded as record review editor of Ethnomusicology by James Porter of UCLA.² But the appointment as Western Folklore's record review editor of William Ivey of the Country Music Foundation may help explain what seems to have been a monopoly: extensive resources (such as few private individuals possess) are almost a necessity in the position.

As record reviewing developed in the major folklore journals, certain qualities, characteristics, experience, and access to sources became necessary for record review editors and conductors of record review columns, partially because of the difference between the tradition of books and the tradition of sound recordings. Libraries and bibliographies have been generally available to the student of books. Large record collections and discographies have not been easily available. A folklorist is more likely to be acquainted with the majority of books in his field than to have heard the majority of sound recordings. Even to review a single album of sound recordings, one should have knowledge of many previous recordings and possibly access to information not widely available. To construct a large survey review even more background is necessary. Members of the so-called UCLA Mafia had in various degrees the experience, attitudes, and access to material necessary for the task. Fortunately the background, experience, attitudes, and materials are now more widely shared, and so may be the responsibilities of reviewing folk recordings.

Perhaps it is time to express a few value judgments. Having re-read more than twenty-five years of record reviews in folklore journals, I have had to come to some conclusions as to the scope and quality of the reviews. It is not possible even to suggest what percentage of recordings that should have been reviewed actually received reviews. The current state of discography would make it somewhat difficult--but more important is the impossibility of an objective determination of what should have been reviewed. That the various record review editors took different views on the matter, not necessarily of what is folklore but of what sound recordings relative to folklore should be noticed, has been all to the good. I confess that I have made no complete tabulation of the recordings I think should have been noticed--but my conclusion on the basis of re-reading the materials is that the coverage has been surprisingly complete. I do not mean to imply, for example, that every single or album with textual, musical, or stylistic relation to folk tradition has been covered. But it seems to me that the major documents have been considered somewhere in the literature, and representatives of relevant areas of commercially issued sound recordings have been reviewed or alluded to.

Furthermore, I think the quality of the reviews has been high. I might disagree violently with the judgments of some of the reviewers, but I cannot find that they misrepresented the nature of the materials they considered. In particular I want to stress the value of the review columns which developed out of the necessity of dealing with a large amount of material in restricted space. Because the reviewers could not afford to deal with items in isolation, they were forced to group and organize materials, and consequent-

ly understand and express relationships. The result has been many brief but valuable essays--whether on Japanese reissues of American country music, or the development of gospel music. The necessity of grouping recordings and integrating the commentary demanded thoughtful comments; and in turn the recordings served as a peg on which to hang insights and conclusions which the reviewer may not have had the opportunity to express elsewhere.

The necessary concision demanded by this kind of record reviewing certainly disciplined the reviewer to eschew the self-indulgence of expatiation on a relatively simple problem; it demanded that he sharpen his prose and his terms. On the other hand the pressure could result in somewhat flippant comments and allusive but cryptic references. (A colleague once pointed out to me that only three persons in the nation could understand some of my remarks. On re-reading them, I find that in a few instances I may not be one of those three persons.) But on the whole, the results have been salutary. If the reviewer tended to "shoot from the hip," his lack of caution may have stimulated thinking in a way that he could or would not have in a more conservative treatment.

Re-reading these portions of reviews of folk recordings for more than a quarter century, I am convinced

of the need of an index. To be sure, some of the material is indexed. But the indexing is minimal and sporadic. An effective index would cover material in many more journals than I have discussed here, so that the academicians, the revivalists, and perhaps even the popular press could be represented. Furthermore, an artist-title index is hardly sufficient, nor even the extension of the mechanical indexing to company-label numerals. What is needed is a subject matter index, with entries for significant and carefully selected topics. I feel sure that other reviewers did as I did--filed ideas, insights, and information in the reviews and now wish they could be retrieved more easily.

A second and even more ambitious undertaking would be a useful reprinting in a roughly chronological order. Some selection might well be necessary in such an undertaking, but such a reprinting combined with an index to both the reprinted reviews and a large number of other reviews would provide both an historical survey and a tool for further research and evaluation. Whether this is possible within current publishing priorities remains to be determined.

FOOTNOTES

1. One cannot fail to note the resemblance to Francis James Child's comment that the corpus of broadsides constituted a veritable dung hill in which one could with great difficulty find a modest jewel.
2. Norm Cohen and various contributors have recently begun reviewing records in John Edwards Memorial Foundation Quarterly.

-- University of California,
Los Angeles



FLYRIGHT RECORDS: AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF A SMALL DOCUMENTARY CONCERN*

By Bruce Bastin

In the late 1960s Flyright grew up as a service to blues record collectors, reissuing albums of scarce material not commonly available even to specialist collectors. Initially Flyright comprised John Broven, Robin Gosden, and the late Mike Leadbitter. John Broven dropped out and was replaced by Simon Napier, who was co-editor with Leadbitter of Blues Unlimited. I replaced Leadbitter on 1 January 1971, so we are now myself, Robin Gosden, and Simon Napier. In the beginning Flyright in no sense made a conscious effort at scientific documentation of the material beyond making scarce items available to the already converted--the preaching came later! Out of this activity grew an orientation for the reissue program, an aim to document music that had been culturally significant in the past. As this aim was evolving, I personally became especially interested in blues in the southeastern states (Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida), an interest enhanced first by fieldwork in the summer of 1969 and then by the research involved in the preparation of a brief written overview of blues in the southeast.¹ Apart from 1971, I have been involved in fieldwork in Georgia and the Carolinas in every year since 1969. Nine months spent at the University of North Carolina in 1972-73 enabled me to become involved in greater depth on location than would otherwise have been possible. Hence the reissue program became guided by a need to rectify the imbalance shown by the undue concentration on Mississippi

blues by previous writers and record reissuers.² Flyright's general focus became directed toward a conscious regionalism in an attempt to offer evidence of a broader pattern of blues evolution.

Without wishing to become embroiled in all the ramifications concerning the validity of regional blues styles and their persistence,³ I think it can be safely stated that there is a distinctive aspect to blues from the southeastern states. The persistence of the blues tradition is shown in a traditional East Coast song by the late Henry Johnson of South Carolina, recorded in 1973, "Crow Jane."⁴ Earlier variant recordings of "Crow Jane" exist by Julius Daniels on Victor 21065 (from 1927) and Carl Martin on Bluebird B-6139 (from 1935). Daniels was from Charlotte, North Carolina, and Martin from Big Stone Gap, Virginia, but his father was from Spartanburg, South Carolina. There are close affinities between this tune and "Red River Blues" recorded, for example, by Greenville, South Carolina, artist Joshua White in 1933. Buddy Moss from Atlanta, born in 1914, recalled it as an old melody when he was a boy.

There was nothing new in an idea of regionalism in the blues, but what became clear from increasing field research was that what the recording industry had told us had happened just was not true. The history of commercial blues records appeared to indicate that country blues

in the southeastern states had disappeared or been transformed into urban blues, that mass media had largely supplanted earlier aspects, and that most older bluesmen were dead and gone. Apart from sessions held in Atlanta in 1949, there had been no commercial recording sessions of country blues held in the Southeast since 1938. It was easy to believe that country blues had died out, that the older musicians were no more, and that surely the finest had been recorded. Blues appeared to be a thing of the past. Despite the work that Paul Oliver, Chris Strachwitz, Mack McCormick, and Harry Oster had done elsewhere in the country, it still seemed that the Southeast held little blues. However, investigation in the field--as always, so much more meaningful than deductions made at home--proved that this was not the case. In tracing and interviewing older bluesmen in the Carolinas and Georgia who had recorded in the 1920s and 1930s, Peter Lowry and I came across a number of fine musicians whose reputations had gone no farther than their own immediate communities.⁵ Lowry and I traveled together on many field trips, and he has greatly assisted Flyright in the release of recorded material. He has also issued a number of albums on his own label, Trix.⁶ I have also had considerable assistance from Danny McLean of Rocky Mount, North Carolina, who introduced me to many artists he had located, and Kip Lornell, currently at Ferrum College in Virginia, with whom I have worked on a number of projects and who has not only followed up leads which I had uncovered but also unearthed a vast amount of new material himself. Other researchers doing similar work in the Southeast have also shown evidence of a far broader pattern of the blues fabric and have exposed the depth and breadth of the music.

With gathering speed the full picture of the black blues scene in the Southeast is coming into focus. Fieldwork has exposed such superb unknown artists as the late Guitar Shorty from Elm City, North Carolina.⁷ It is interesting to note that he plays guitar on almost every piece with a slide and that playing in this manner is very common in the Southeast. Most of the older southeastern musicians learned to play in this manner in open tunings. Commercial recordings of such guitar styles, however, are extremely rare outside the Atlanta area, and hence until recently our whole picture of the playing styles within the Southeast had been severely limited. Indeed, previous evidence tended to associate this style especially with Mississippi.

Fieldwork also expanded to include a broader coverage of secular music than purely blues. The locating of medicine show man Peg Leg Sam (Arthur Jackson) in Spartanburg, South Carolina, has promoted research by Bengt Olsson on the first detailed study of black artists in this fascinating type of rural show. The sole documentation of a live medicine show took place in 1972. A crude videotape remains, but fortunately two nights were tape recorded and a double-album has resulted, literally documenting the last-ever medicine show in the United States.⁸ There was a great element of good luck in securing the documentation of the show, but there was equally a determined effort to ensure that it was documented. I think that this illustrates another aspect of Flyright, that someone does document this material, which some of us are trying to show is more diverse and widespread than generally accepted.

A further outgrowth of the attempt to make available material which otherwise would never be easily available was initiated by a group of English enthusiasts, including Tony Russell and John Cowley. This was to make available a series of albums of early Library of Congress field recordings. Many persons are perhaps unaware of the wealth of fine black secular music recorded for the Archive of Folk Song at the Library of Congress. Thanks to Alan Jabbour, Joe Hickerson, and the Archive of Folk Song staff, this superb music is being made available. Six albums have been issued to date. I think they will remain milestones of their type. Issued are a complete session recorded by John and Ruby Lomax in Mississippi in 1940⁹ and two complete sessions from Florida in 1935 recorded by Alan Lomax, Mary Elizabeth Barnicle, and Zora Neale Hurston.¹⁰ The fourth album, and for me the most fascinating, is from recordings of black secular music made at a folk festival at a black state college in central Georgia in the early 1940s by such eminent folklorists as Willis Lawrence James and John W. Work.¹¹ The festival was the brainchild of Fort Valley State College's music professor, Edgar Rogie Clark. The two most recent albums are of 1930s recordings from Texas prisons made by John A., Ruby T., and Alan Lomax.¹²

So what is Flyright trying to achieve? On the one hand it is trying to make available music that would otherwise be unknown or unavailable, while trying also to show that black secular music was diverse and very widespread. It is time that the history of the blues was re-evaluated; some of us are too involved with our own trees to be able to see the forest. The old patterns dictated by the record industry and by past evaluation of collectors and writers clearly failed to outline the very wealth and breadth of this music. It was not the property of a few but of a huge mass. Many fine musicians still exist and their music enables us collectively to understand the broad fabric of blues even better.

Detailed study in specific North Carolina and Georgia counties has shown that the secular folk music often included facets which were never documented commercially. The whole pattern of black rural dance music became obscured and finally lost through commercial recordings, yet it is alive and well, at least in North Carolina. This entire pattern of black banjo and banjo/fiddle music remained undocumented until recently. Now an album exists of the music of just one North Carolina county, recorded as recently as 1972-73, concentrating on the pre-blues forms.¹³ At the time of writing, a whole album of North Carolina black banjo music is in preparation.¹⁴ What is now necessary is that someone else gets out and documents this music carefully in the field. I hope no one will have to look back and say, "I wish I'd done that when there was a chance." Flyright tries to issue any material which will broaden our scope and understanding of this fascinating genre which is the blues and which has survived the pitfalls of what the world too often accepts as "folk music." If we can enable other persons' field recordings to be issued, we are glad to do so. We have issued material from Mississippi and Louisiana recorded by David Evans,¹⁵ from Alabama and Tennessee recorded by Bengt Olsson,¹⁶ and two albums of country blues recorded by Kip Lornell in up-state New York.¹⁷

Perhaps I can conclude by quoting Zora Neale Hurston. She felt that it was "almost useless to collect material to lie upon the shelves of scientific societies."¹⁸ I agree. Flyright will try to see that it does not happen.

FOOTNOTES

* Flyright catalogs will be mailed on request. Write Flyright Records, 18 Endwell Road, Bexhill-on-Sea, East Sussex, England. Albums can be obtained direct from Flyright or from Southern Record Sales, 5001 Reynard Avenue, La Crescenta, California 91214.

1. Bruce Bastin, *Crying for the Carolines* (London: Studio Vista, 1971). See also Bruce Bastin, "The Emergence of a Blues Tradition in the Southeastern States," M. A. thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1973.

2. This concentration on Mississippi blues is seen in the writings of such blues researchers as Samuel Charters, David Evans, John Fahey, and William Ferris, and in the reissue programs of the Origin Jazz Library and Yazoo labels.
3. An attempt at summarizing the characteristics of regional blues styles is made in Charles Keil, Urban Blues (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 217-24.
4. Flyright 45-002, 45 rpm record. A different recording of this song and several others by Johnson can be heard on Carolina Country Blues, Flyright LP 505. Other Johnson tracks are on Another Man Done Gone, Flyright LP 528.
5. For instance, Roy Dunn of Atlanta on Blues Come to Chapel Hill, Flyright LP 504.
6. For a detailed catalogue write Trix Records, Drawer AB, Rosendale, New York 12472.
7. Guitar Shorty, Carolina Slide Guitar, Flyright LP 500. He is also heard on Carolina Country Blues, Flyright LP 505, and Another Man Done Gone, Flyright LP 528. Guitar Shorty was found by Danny McLean.
8. Peg Leg Sam and Chief Thundercloud, The Last Medicine Show, Flyright LPs 507 and 508. The last two nights of the 1972 season were recorded in September. The Indian chief who worked with Peg Leg Sam died in April 1973, just before they were to take to the road again. As they had been the last remaining medicine show in the United States, according to the owner of the fair at which they were recorded, these were literally the last-ever medicine show performances in the country. Sam died in October 1977. Born for Hard Luck: Peg Leg Sam Jackson is a 29 minute film documenting his life and music, including a clip from the videotaped 1972 medicine show. Tom Davenport Films, Delaplane, Virginia 22025, is the distributor.
9. Lucious Curtis, Willie Ford, and George Goldwin, Mississippi River Blues, Flyright-Matchbox SDM 230.
10. Gabriel Brown, Rochelle French, and John French, Out in the Cold Again, Flyright-Matchbox SDM 257; and Booker T. Sapps, Roger Matthews, and Willy Flowers, Boot That Thing, Flyright-Matchbox SDM 258.
11. Various artists, Fort Valley Blues, Flyright-Matchbox SDM 250.
12. Various artists recorded in 1939, Two White Horses Standin' in Line, Flyright-Matchbox SDM 264; and various artists recorded in 1934, Jack O' Diamonds, Flyright-Matchbox SDM 265.
13. John Snipes, Willie Trice, Wilbert Atwater, and Jamie Alston, Orange Country Special, Flyright LP 506.
14. John Snipes, Dink Roberts, James Roberts, Joe and Odell Thompson, Goin' Where I Never Been Before: Afro-American Banjo Music of the North Carolina Piedmont, Flyright LP 1000.
15. Various artists, High Water Blues, Flyright LP 512.
16. Various artists, Southern Comfort Country, Flyright LP 501; and Lum Guffin, The Walking Victrola, Flyright LP 503.
17. Various artists, Goin' Back to Tifton, Flyright LP 509; and a piano anthology of Elroy Hart, Fats Jefferson, and Blind Donald Dawson, North Florida Fives, Flyright LP 510.
18. Letter to Rosenwald Fund, 1934, quoted by Robert Hemenway in "Zora Neale Hurston and the Eatonville Anthropology," The Harlem Renaissance Remembered, ed. Arna Bontemps (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1972), p. 208.

-- Bexhill-on-Sea,
England



WHAT SHOULD A DOCUMENTARY RECORD BE?

By Keith Cunningham

1, Keith Cunningham, being to all outward appearances of sound mind and body, was hired by Northern Arizona University in 1969 as a Freshman English instructor. (Actually, I had finished the course work for a Ph.D. in Folklore, but NAU was kindly willing to overlook that fact, and, given the nature of the job market for ABED's [all but examinations and dissertation] so was I.)

I tried to walk the straight and narrow path of pagination and tread the trail of transitions. As all fellow sufferers know, however, folklore collecting is like dope; although I spent my time toting those papers and lifting those thesis statements for over a year, I got (as the Hopi say) "ants under my skin" and couldn't resist just one (field trip) for the road. The result was as predictable as it was reprehensible--an orgasmic trip knocking on doors, asking questions, and pushing tape recorder buttons. I contacted over eighty people in four days, slept in my VW bug, and lived on canned pinto beans (with Tabasco sauce; even in the most degenerate there are bonds of human decency which can not be severed). This diet, coupled with running out of tape, was the reason the trip only lasted four days; I bet Lomax never had that problem.

I came back to the real world of punctuation quizzes after Christmas vacation with three recorded reels of tape, a Himalayan stack of ungraded term papers, and (since my headphones perished in a snowbank along with all the buttons on my Wollensak when I fell taking a shortcut down a snow-covered hill to a banjo player's house) the problem of transcription. I stared at the tapes in white-knuckled agony the first day until my office mate left for the afternoon. Stealthily I turned the recorder on and instantly suffered a nearly fatal, reoccurring flashback interrupted only by two of my colleagues (Bryan Short, now director of Freshman English at NAU, and James Bartell) demanding to know, "What is that?"

My secret was out. But, could it be? They seemed interested rather than hostile! They listened to my babbling about the importance of folksongs sung by real folk; nay, they even encouraged me. I had previously struck out on my own in my madness to become a record magnate and had lost one thousand dollars borrowed from a small loan company and two shirts purchased on the installment plan from Goodwill by producing one thousand copies of Stone County Singing, Shoestring Tape GB-1 (now the secret which puzzled ages is revealed: "GB" stood for "Go for Broke"; except for the "for" it worked out pretty much that way), and I had enough sanity remaining to say, "Well, of course, we could make a record, but we would have to get five hundred dollars somewhere."

Alas, alas, those seducers sent me reeling into the pit from which there is no escape. They formed a committee of two and approached the department chairman, Dr. Max James, about securing a university grant. As all spiritualists know, the department chairman is connected to the dean, the dean is connected to the vice-president, and the vice-president is connected to the president--hear the word of the Lord. I got my pottage.

A bicentennial has come and gone since that initial seedy money (I feel it someday); I have produced four record albums under the sponsorship of NAU (see appendix for listing); and I am now at work on a fifth (see what it does to you)--a record of recitations which promises to be our all time worst seller. The experience has resulted, in addition to the albums themselves, in two previous articles,¹ a slide-tape presentation at the 1976 American Folklore Society Convention (from which this paper is

freely adapted), and a host of memories and stories. For instance, how about the time University Printing ran the notes on the back of dormitory menus? Or how about the brochure I personally collated and sent off with a record for review only to have it returned with a note that the reviewer would prefer a copy which didn't have three page fives? Enough!

The years and the records and the experience of making them also have brought largely favorable reviews from the major American folklore journals,² and popular magazines,³ kind mentions in several books of or about American folklore and folk music,⁴ an idea of what a documentary record should be, and a pugnacious insistence that there is a need for records made in keeping with this philosophy.

First of all, there are many forms of folksong record albums: some record revivalists; some are vanity pressings; many highlight the performances of "stars," those few folk musicians who by force of personality and intelligence and ambition have adapted to the larger audience and the recording situation;⁵ all too many pander to dilettante "folkies" who prefer the slick to the unpolished, the humorous to the sentimental (the word itself is an unwarranted value judgement), and the showy to the simple regardless of what is most common in tradition. I believe strongly that there is room among the many records produced in keeping with these purposes for at least a few documentary records which seek simply to document with no prettifying. A folksong performance is, as far as I am concerned, like a folklore text--sacred and not to be tampered with. If some record buyers find the performances on my records (God forbid!) "non-professional," that is their hang-up.

I am also adamant about the ideal quality of recording. Music performance is not conversation, and it is not served by refusing to edit in the name of naturalism. A documentary record deserves to be of sufficient technical quality that the grandkids screaming in the background do not overwhelm the performance and should have miscellaneous nonperformance-related noises edited out.⁶

I have become as concerned with the brochure as I am with the record itself. The ideal documentary record should include notes which give pertinent disco-bibliographic information, meet the standards of annotation established by the best folktale collections, include relevant photographs, provide information about the singer as well as the song, and are interesting to read as well as informative.

The last point in my creed is undoubtedly the most controversial. I believe that the ultimate value of lore is that it is of, by, and for the folk and therefore reveals something of them. Therefore, dealing in the ultimate, the selections on a documentary record should be so chosen and ordered that, without in any way distorting reality, they add up to more than the sum of their parts and constitute a Joycean epiphany or gestalt which reveals something about the performers, their performance, their culture, or the listener.

These four ideas constitute my view of what a documentary record should be, and I have never reached it. But, "A man's record should exceed his grasp."

Can anybody tell me where I can get a big mess of pottage to try again?

FOOTNOTES

1. Keith K. Cunningham, "Do-it-yourself Records," Folklore Forum 1:3 (1968), and "Do-it-yourself Records Revisited," Folklore Forum 6:1 (1973).
2. See, for example, Folklore Forum, 6:3 (July 1973), 185; Journal of American Folklore, 89 (July-Sept 1976), 370-371; Western Folklore, 34 (Oct 1975), 71.
3. See, for example, Arizona (7 March 1976), pp. 48-55; Rockingchair: The Review Newsletter for Librarians and Popular Music Fans Who Buy Records, 1:5 (Aug 1977); Sing Out! 23:2 (1974), 45.
4. Jan Harold Brunvand, Folklore: A Study and Research Guide (New York: St Martin's Press, 1976), p. 42; Glenn Ohrlin, The Hell-Bound Train: A Cowboy Songbook (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973), p. 245; John I. White, Git Along, Little Dogies: Songs and Songmakers of the American West (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), p. 207.
5. I developed this point more fully in my article, "Review Essay: Folk Music Performance Stars," Mid-South Folklore, 3:1 (Spring 1975), 27-30.
6. In light of this goal one of my most prized compliments is Tom Bingham's evaluation of Bunk and Becky Pettyjohn: "...The recording is very clean and bright...the surface is generally quieter than many major-label releases..." Audio, 61 (June 1977), 125.

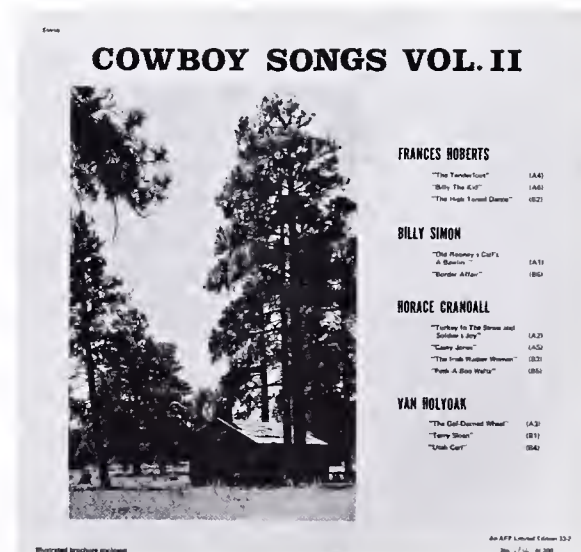
APPENDIX: RECORDS PRODUCED BY KEITH CUNNINGHAM

1. Stone County Singing (Shoestring Tape, GB-1). Featuring the singing of Floyd Holland, Glenn Ohrlin, and Estella Palmer.
2. Cowboy Songs (Arizona Friends of Folklore, AFF 33-1). Featuring Frances Roberts, Dave Branch, Joe and Bennie Rodriguez, and Gail Gardner.
3. Cowboy Songs, Volume II (Arizona Friends of Folklore, AFF 33-2). Featuring Frances Roberts, Billy Simon, Horace Crandall, and Van Holyoak.
4. In An Arizona Town (Arizona Friends of Folklore, AFF 33-3). Featuring Van Holyoak, Bunk Pettyjohn, Lois "Granny" Thomas, Tim Kizzer, Ralph Rogers, and Don Goodman.
5. Bunk and Becky Pettyjohn (Arizona Friends of Folklore, AFF 33-4).

[Note: The above records are available from Arizona Friends of Folklore, Box 5905, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ 86011.]

-- Northern Arizona University,
Flagstaff, Arizona

(Symposium papers continue on p. 86.)



GRAPHICS #45

THE GREAT SOUTH

By Archie Green

When opening this graphics series during 1967, I undertook a journey in musical exploration and nomenclature. For the prior decade I had studied folk and folk-like music variously denominated "old-time," "mountain," "country," "Dixie," or "hillbilly," and was especially interested in the recording and marketing of such material. My series' title "Commercial Music Graphics" was chosen by Norm Cohen to stress commercial sales and packaging in that I had selected for initial reproduction several promotional ads by Okeh based on its first field expedition to the South. Specifically, Ralph Peer had travelled to Atlanta during 1923 to record Fiddlin' John Carson and similar local performers, white and black. It was my assertion that this Atlanta session helped distinguish hillbilly music as a discrete idiom, even though such material had been recorded previously.

From the beginning, I sought early advertisements for discs which offered Anglo-American folk music by Okeh, Columbia, Victor, Vocalion, Brunswick, Edison, and sister firms. In time, I turned to Afro-American lore as well as to some non-English language song. Also, I moved beyond commercial art to "high art," for example, Thomas Eakin's cowboys and Thomas Hart Benton's Ozark musicians. This expansion in content led editor Cohen to suggest in 1976 that I had "outgrown" the series' title, and in Winter 1977 he changed it to simply "Graphics."

This present feature deals with a journey south well before that of Ralph Peer -- one by reported Edward King and artist J. Wells Champney for *Scribner's Monthly*, and offers several reproductions from their book, *The Great South* (1875). In the years immediately following the Civil War, national magazine readers were fascinated by southern experience; the South was perceived alternately as exotic, backwards, and terrifying -- almost powerful enough to have broken the sacred bonds of union. New York Editors sent individual reporters, at times accompanied by artists, on the trail from Maryland's Eastern Shore to the Rio Grande Valley. No corner of the old Confederacy was hidden to the journalistic eye. Initially, northern writers in magazines and books depicted the South as recalcitrant and unrepentant. Their writings paralleled radical Republican rhetoric as well as the reach to full citizenship by recently freed slaves. The groundbreaking series in this critical vein was John Richard Dennett's "The South As It Is" for the *Nation* in 1865.

During the 1870s, a new editorial tone appeared in northern reportage: the South was being devastated by cruel Carpetbaggers and Scalawags; Negroes were stepping far beyond "proper" bounds; the times demanded conciliation between former Yankees and Rebels. As we know, after federal troops left the South in 1877 the national government permitted white supremacists to disenfranchise freedmen, and allowed Ku Klux Klan terror to exceed that of the "crimes" it allegedly reformed.

It is not my purpose here to rewrite a history of southern politics and race relations. Rather, I shall abstract from *The Great South* a handful of engravings centered on folk music. Although Edward King clearly advocated conciliation during Reconstruction, he was not sent out to compile a political tract. Instead, the publishers of *Scribner's Monthly* selected him as an experienced journalist to cover a huge and compelling regional story. King was born in Middlefield, Massachusetts in 1848 and began his newspaper work at the age of sixteen in nearby Springfield. While still a young man he had reported for the *Boston Journal* on the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune (1871). Additionally, he published a Paris-based novel and turned to poetry.

Scribner & Company was generous in funding King during his southern trips of spring 1873 through the summer of 1874; more than \$30,000 was spent on the series. Altogether he travelled 25,000 miles, including 1,000 by horseback. By contrast, at times, he chartered a private railway car. King's findings were divided into fifteen monthly articles, taking some 450 pages beginning with the issue of July 1873, skipping to November, and running consecutively through December 1874. During 1875, all his articles were expanded and issued by the American Publishing Company at Hartford in a handsome tome 800 pages long.

J. Wells Champney accompanied King on most of his trips, sketching in pencil characters and natural scenes along the road, and sending his drawings back to New York to be engraved in woodcuts for magazine printing. Over 400 illustrations were used -- a tremendous volume by any standard, then or now. Actually, from time to time, local artists supplemented Champney's work, but in a style so close to his as to make it

THE

GREAT SOUTH:

A RECORD OF JOURNEYS

IN

LOUISIANA, TEXAS, THE INDIAN TERRITORY, MISSOURI, ARKANSAS,
MISSISSIPPI, ALABAMA, GEORGIA, FLORIDA, SOUTH CAROLINA,
NORTH CAROLINA, KENTUCKY, TENNESSEE, VIRGINIA,
WEST VIRGINIA, AND MARYLAND.

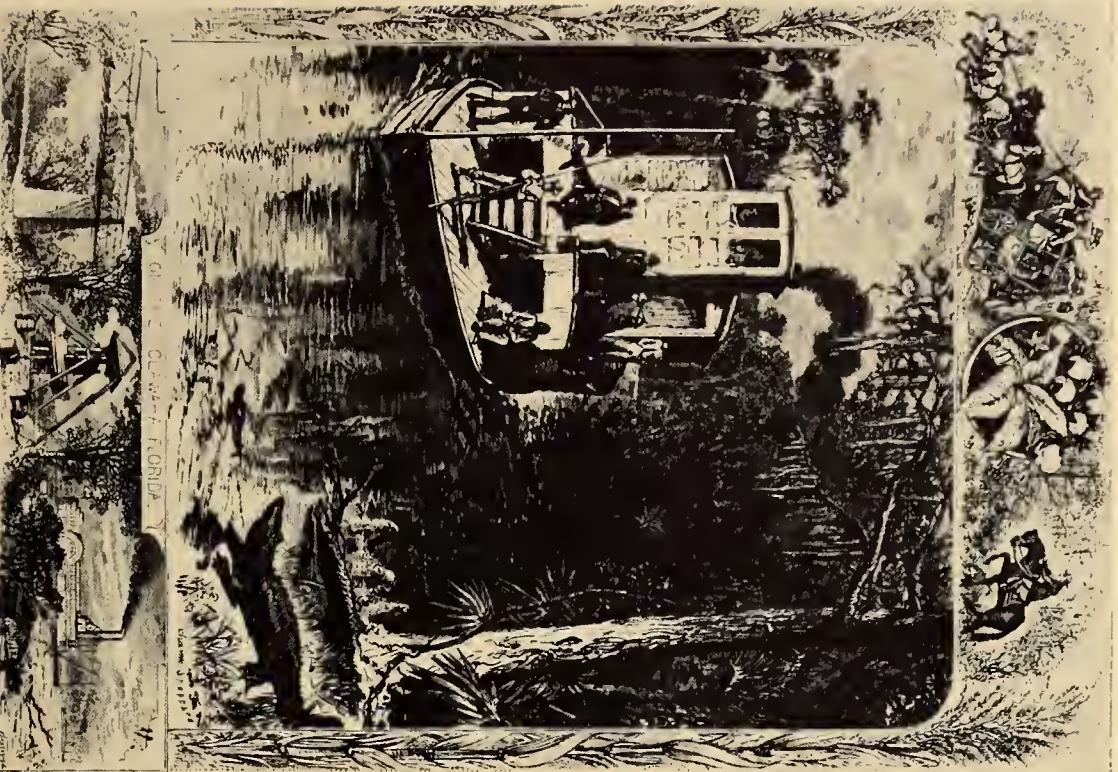
BY

EDWARD KING.

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED FROM ORIGINAL SKETCHES
BY J WELLS CHAMPNEY.

AMERICAN PUBLISHING COMPANY,
HARTFORD, CONN.

1875.







extremely difficult to distinguish main artist from substitutes. In Edward King's dedication to Roswell Smith of Scribner's, the author made a special point to thank him for "the lavish expenditure which has procured the beautiful series of engravings illustrating this volume. What I have been able to hint at, the artists have interpreted with a fidelity to life and nature in the highest degree admirable."

King's perception of Champney's "fidelity" is important for contemporary understanding of their joint effort. In our period of instant photo-journalism, stark documentary films, and daily broadcasts of TV news, we frame notions of visual reality through the camera lens. But looking back a full century to the pencil sketches of Champney, we see many of them through the lens of sentiment and romance. In fact, pictures out of early magazines are often reprinted only to convey a sense of nostalgia. Essentially, I ask readers to think of Champney as a pioneer in immediate visual journalism in that his field art was available in magazine form within a few months of execution in the field.

Champney's sketches held another dimension -- they complemented then-fresh local color magazine stories which touched everyday life of rural or distant folk. The close connection between travel journalism and local color fiction is underscored when we know that Edward King "discovered" George Washington Cable in a New Orleans warehouse and persuaded the young author to send one of his Creole stories, "Sieur George," to *Scribner's Monthly* (October, 1873). Cable's piece led to considerable southern fiction in popular national magazines, and anticipated later work in this genre by Thomas Nelson Page, Joel Chandler Harris, Mary Murfree, John Fox, Jr., and others.

Scribner's Monthly, An Illustrated Magazine for the People was widely read in the United States and Great Britain, and King's travel series was judged a huge success. (This influential magazine, first issued in November 1870, was renamed in 1881 *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, surviving great changes until the spring of 1930. A new *Scribner's Magazine*, as a rival to *Century*, was first issued in 1887.) Edward King's *The Great South* was reprinted in 1969 by the Arno Press, New York, with an excellent new preface by Princeton University history professor James M. McPherson. All the reproductions used here are photographed from a copy of the book's first edition in the University of Louisville Library.

A question posed throughout my graphic series is: How have American artists commented on musical expression over the years. When record company publicists portrayed banjoists on log cabin porches, or fiddlers at rural square dances, they helped fix "mountain," "hillbilly," and "old-time," as parallel naming words, and helped relate this music to conservative, time-tested modes. In turning to those Champney travel sketches which feature music, I have moved considerably away from phonograph record publicity of the 1920s.

Scribner's Monthly used Champney's work during 1873-74 because national readers were then immensely curious about the post-war South. As policy towards Reconstruction was altered, citizens turned to genteel journalism for guidance. To sit in a parlor in Philadelphia or Boston and to be able to see a vivid slice of southern life was judged by Champney's audience to be both useful and uplifting. The northerner unable to travel could use illustrated works to project himself imaginatively to exotic places. Further, he could reduce the social and moral distance between himself and southerners -- former enemies -- by seeing them in familiar garb and as individuals who shared neighborly experiences. Champney caught the full variety of southern life: aristocrats, plain folk, poor whites; Negroes at work, at play, at worship.

In 400 sketches, Champney was both accurate in detail and panoramic in breadth -- plantations and subsistence farms, river roustabouts and bayou trappers, mountain vistas and teeming city squares. The six engravings selected by me are identified here both by title within book and by prior magazine appearance:

I. *The Great South*

- A) Frontispiece and title page.
- B) "The joyous, grotesque maskers appear upon the ball-room floor" (New Orleans) page 43.
- C) "Men drunk and sober danced to rude music" (Denison, Texas) page 176.
- D) "The Cheery Minstrel" (train between St. Louis and Jefferson City, Missouri) page 255.
- E) "The family sang line by line" (Great Smoky Mountains, Tennessee) page 481.
- F) "Summoning Buyers to a Tobacco Sale" (Lynchburg, Virginia) page 560.

II. *Scribner's Monthly*

Volume 6, July 1873, pp. 257-288, "The Great South," includes "Jeff Davis" (D) and "The Dance Hall -- Denison, Texas" (C).

Volume 7, November 1873, pp. 1-32, includes "The Carnival, Masquerade at the Varieties Theatre" (B)

Volume 7, March 1874, pp. 513-544, includes "A Mountain Family Singing Psalms" (E)

Volume 7, April 1874, pp. 645-674, includes "The Summons to a Tobacco Sale" (F)

Volume 9, November 1874, pp. 1-31, includes "Scene on the Oclawaha River, Florida" (A)

In the material cited above, the frontispiece can well stand for the general feeling engendered by *The Great South*. Presumably, King and Champney's publishers knew that alligators

were compelling, but balanced this eye-appeal with upper and lower panels appropriate to a travel book: Stagecoach, Horseback, Railway, Steamboat. Three non-transportation details are also significant: the cotton plant vignette above, the cotton compress below, vertical sugar cane stalks bordering the frontispiece.

The five other musical drawings are chosen to illustrate specific textual passages by King. Readers may wish to go directly to his book or magazine articles for full context. Here, I offer but a few leads keyed to the sketches as they appear in the book:

King was enthralled by the New Orleans Carnival, and Champney, at the Mardi Gras of 1873, prepared six festive pictures, one of which includes a banjo player.

The Texas saloon sketch intrigued me because it represents one of the first country string bands caught by an American artist. Readers may refer back to my feature "Midnight and Other Cowboys" (Autumn 1975), which included an engraving of an Abilene, Kansas "Dance-House" showing a trio (two fiddlers and a cello player) who played for a boisterous crowd. Champney's two Texas musicians are hidden in shadows, but are playing a fiddle and guitar. The sketch is an unusually early one for this particular instrumental combination.

"The Cheery Minstrel" on the Missouri train, named "Jeff Davis" in the book, represents an early one-man band in that he is playing a triangle and harmonicon.

In the chapter, "Across the 'Smoky' to Waynesville...", the singing family is named as Parson Caton's, and is described as lining out hymns and psalms. King wrote, "They sang in quavering, high-pitched voices, to the same tunes which were heard in the Tennessee mountains when Nolichucky was an infant settlement, and the banks of the French Broad were crimsoned with the blood of white settlers, shed by the Indians." Accounts of mountain sacred song were not readily available a century ago. Especially interesting today is the writer's comprehension that the Parson Caton family had retained old tunes as well as an old performing style.

Country music enthusiasts will know "Lynchburg Town" as a minstrel piece which entered folk tradition. Champney's sketch of the noontide horn used at tobacco sales is unusual -- I have not seen it elsewhere.

I shall conclude with a few details about James Wells Champney (1843-1903). Born in Boston, he was apprenticed at the age of sixteen to a wood engraver, building a strong base for a lifelong career in art. After Civil War service, he taught in a young ladies' seminary at Lexington, Massachusetts. There he met his future wife, Elisabeth Williams. He studied in Paris under the French genre painter, Edouard Frere, and sketched widely, including scenes of the Passion Play at Oberammergau (1871). His commission from *Scribner's Monthly* to

work with Edward King on *The Great South* led to a valuable ethnographic corpus. In 1878, the artist collaborated with Herbert H. Smith on a similar book, *Brazil: The Amazon and the Coast*. Other sketches by Champney are found in children's books written by his wife -- for example, the Three Vassar Girls series, the Witch Winnie series. After teaching at Smith College, he established a New York studio where he painted and experimented in photography until his death. We do not now look back at him in terms of the achievements of his contemporaries Winslow Homer and James Whistler, but all students of American culture find continuing value in Champney's southern journey.

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-- Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C.



WHAT'S INVOLVED IN MAKING DOCUMENTARY RECORDS OF FOLK MUSIC

By Chris Strachwitz

Since many people have the notion that making records is a very profitable venture, let me try to present to you some of the facts especially as they pertain to a small independent esoteric label like Arhoolie with a lot of long-playing but often slow-selling albums in our catalog.

When you decide to record someone you first of all need some equipment--unless you go to a studio. Solo instrumentalists and singers or small groups with acoustic instruments are best recorded in your own house or in their living room, outside, or wherever the artists feel comfortable. For this kind of recording the most superb machine is the Swiss made Nagra IV Stereo model. It will cost you a bundle but it's the best machine in the world and can be obtained with movie synchronization attachment and is THE standard machine used by film makers around the world. Once you have a good tape recorder you need some good mikes. I now use two Neumann KM 861s condenser mikes which can be switched to omni-directional, cardioid or two-way. I also have two Electro-Voice RE 15s and find them the best to use on guitar amps and voices when rugged conditions exist. The condensers are rather fragile and touchy to use, but give better sound in most cases. So now that you've spent about \$5,000 on recording equipment, you look for the artists you wish to capture on tape.

A common expense is the advance payment to the artists. This is usually an advance against royalties. That means whatever amount the artist gets at the time of the session is taken out of his royalties and he only earns royalties once that advance figure has been earned by sales. Such advance payments will vary from a few hundred dollars to thousands depending upon the fame and reputation or demands of the artist. The figures involved in pop music are legend--and totally unrealistic when dealing with more limited appeal material as issued by most of the smaller labels.

If you are unable to record your performer with your own tape machine you have to hire studio time. If the band is ready and well rehearsed you can cut an album at one session--but you should count on at least two three- or four-hour sessions since after four hours most musicians will get faint and weak and lose their pep! In my experience most of the best material comes about a half hour after I start to record and lasts for about three hours. Studios charge from about \$50 on up per hour--so you can bet on \$200 for a four-hour session--and if you record 8 or 16 tracks you will need just as much time again to mix the stuff down to a stereo master tape. So you can see how this can build up expenses unless your group is well rehearsed and knows their stuff. I don't go for this rehearsing in a recording studio! On top of the time charges you have to pay for the tape and never forget the refreshments! Even when you make your own recording you need tape and I suggest using the best brands to save the fragile heads on your machine.

Once you have a "master" tape, whether made on your own machine or at a studio, this will pretty much be what your album will sound like. So better make sure you like it! The master tape goes to a studio which has a lathe or record-cutting machine which can make a good master acetate or lacquer disc. This step is important, like all others, since this is pretty much what will determine your pressings. This master lacquer then goes to a processing plant where the disc is put into a plating tank where it is covered with metal by the electrolytic process. The metal plate as it forms on the acetate disc will be the master, or positive metal part. You can actually press records with this metal plate since the grooves will be sticking out.

This is called your "metal master." For your own protection one or more metal parts are made from this: a "mother" and then another master which is actually the "stamper" to be placed on the press from which the discs are pressed. This protection is for your benefit in case the stamper breaks or gets damaged. You then won't have to go all the way back to your master tape since the other metal parts are still there and new stampers can be easily made from the mother. Now you are ready to press the discs! But you can hardly sell just plain pressings so let's look at what's involved in making the jackets.

If you want to be very economical you can buy plain white jackets and silk screen them yourself. That's how the first Takoma Record jackets were made. I used to watch Ed Denson and his crew in amazement. Most of us however will go the printing route. So you need a good photograph or maybe art work and have someone skilled at layout and design work do this for otherwise it will look sloppy. Wayne Pope has designed and executed the art work on almost all Arhoolies since I started in 1960. That must be some kind of record and I for one really appreciate his work. We have usually used duotones or just black and white art which is cheaper to print than full color in small runs. Most printers will hardly find it economical to run less than 5,000 fronts at a time and you might as well hope for eventually selling 5,000 LPs once you paid for the art work, negatives, and plates. It may take you over ten years to sell that many but at least the fronts are there. The fronts are sent to the album company where they are glued onto the jackets and the back liners are printed and pasted on. The finished jackets then go to your pressing plant which also often does the metal plating work for you. So finally the records can be pressed, put into dust sleeves, stuffed into the jackets and sealed in plastic. These are tedious jobs and we sure wish to express our appreciation to the good people who do this work at the album and pressing plants. Now you can pick up your stash of records and you will try to sell them. This may be the hardest part of all.

In order to sell records and to give people something to remember the artists by, many performers sell their records wherever they play. I think this is an excellent idea and only wish more artists would do it. So make and sell your own records if you are fairly popular. Arhoolie, like most labels, also sells artists' records to them at a low price. Or you can sell records by mail-order. I started that way with Arhoolie and gratefully received a lot of nice publicity from the various specialty magazines, and even the mass media press where I sent some samples for review. But that was back in 1960 when there were very few real blues LPs on the market. Today there are few musical styles which are not almost over-represented on records and I think it might be a bit harder to get started. Ed Denson of Kicking Mule Records, however, does well selling his LPs by mail-order although his records are also available through regular record shops at least in the major centers. And that is, of course, the standard way to sell records: through record shops who are supplied by distributors or wholesalers, and that's how 90% of Arhoolies are sold. We only sell about 5% by mail-order direct to customers.

To find distributors who can sell your records takes time and patience. Over the years I have made the acquaintance of quite a few who on the whole are doing a good job for me and I appreciate their work. The most important link in this selling chain today is the sales person for the distributor. Some of the big but good "catalog" stores don't really have time or enough help to keep up to date on what they need. They rely on the sales person for each distributor who knows what

artists and labels they carry. These sales persons regularly go into the stores and take inventory to see what the store needs. Then they bring the merchandise and make sure it goes into the right spot. The good sales people know their merchandise and don't overload a store with slow movers and don't undersell the fast items. We are very lucky here in the Bay Area that the Tower Chain lets the reliable sales people pretty much decide on what to put into the stores. I wish this was the case all over but unfortunately it is not and most distributors have a hard time getting esoteric material into a store at all. Of course you've got to keep in mind that a sales person often works on a commission and it's more profitable for them to write up an order for 100 copies of Rock-Schlock LP 1001 instead of one copy of Arhoolie 1001--and it takes just as much time.

With a new label you will also encounter reluctance on the part of distributors who have already too many lines in most cases, to handle your lonely LP until you build up an established line which proves to be steady in sales--and in that regard Arhoolie has been very lucky. The first LP I released in 1960 keeps selling just about the same number of copies year in and year out thanks to the longevity of real American folk music. Also the whole selling end of the record business is based on credit. You as the producer have to pay the studio, the artists, the album company, the processing plant, etc.--but distributors generally, as well as the big chain stores, don't pay for months! So you must tread with care in the jungle of the business world! After a time you have investments in the form of LPs which they have on credit, with many distributors around the world. It takes time to build up this kind of stock--and money. And when you get stung it hurts. Most guys when they get ready to call it quits will usually tell you and ship back whatever stock they have and treat you right--but there are snakes like Dr. Barry Lew of New York for example. He took over what was once our best distributor in the U.S., ran it for a while and then apparently got tired of it. Most decent people will let you know and settle up, or go bankrupt. Not Dr. Lew--no, he just sold all the stock to a schlock chain at a cheap price and disappeared. I hear he is a wealthy doctor of medicine in New York and even owns his own air plane! In my book he is a low creature indeed! It would have been better if he had dumped the records in the ocean; at least then the stock would not have upset my other distributors who had to put up with these records being offered for sale cheap all over the East Coast! This crooked New Yorker still owes us a lot of money but you have no idea how hard it is to get justice against that kind of operator. It's impossible.

Big record companies will press 20 or 30 thousand copies of a new record and ship it to their distributors who are to put them into stores. Such shipments are guaranteed--that is, if they don't sell the companies take them back. We little labels can't afford to do that and so our distributors only get what they order--and the same with the stores. Although we all stand behind our product and guarantee you that the record you buy is free from factory defects, we at Arhoolie will not take back so-called "defective" records unless they are really factory defective. Many irresponsible stores let customers bring back almost any LPs--and exchange them whether they are defective in the real sense or not. I have even heard of stores which will exchange any record if you pay 50¢ extra. This is the supreme rip-off for the labels because the store will send that original LP back to the distributor as "defective" and exchange it for credit--and make 50¢ profit on the deal to boot! Arhoolie won't play this game and most stores know it by now.

Many people are interested in the actual costs involved in making records and here, to the best of my ability and experience, is my breakdown as I have experienced it in the last few years.

One-time costs:	Low	High
Studio for recording	\$ 0	\$2500 and up
Tape	50	400 and up
Mastering and dub-down	50	500 and up
Master acetate	100	200
Metal parts	60	80
Cover art, photos, and typesetting	300	500 and up
Total	\$560	\$4180 and up!

One-time costs broken down per LP:

If you sell 1000 copies: \$.56 low or \$4.18 high
 If you sell 5000 copies: \$.11 low or \$.83 high
 If you sell 10,000 copies: \$.05 low or \$.41 high

Fixed additional costs for each 1000 LPs:

Labels	\$ 17
Printing covers and liners	100 (this can go up for color)
Assembling jackets	85
1000 pressings and shrink wrap	500
Artists fees or royalties	300 (this may vary)
Publisher's royalties for 12 songs	240
	\$1242 = \$1.24 per LP

Total cost per LP:

Adding one-time costs plus fixed additional costs per LP:

	Low	High
If you sell 1000 copies	\$1.80	\$5.42
If you sell 5000 copies	\$1.35	\$2.07
If you sell 10,000 copies	\$1.29	\$1.65

These costs per LP do not include the cost of running your business like your own time, salaries, rent, advertising, promotion, office expenses, equipment costs, etc.

On promotional copies subtract 54 cents per LP since neither artist nor publishing royalties are usually paid on such discs. For booklets or foldout jackets add about 15 cents per LP at least.

In view of the fact that LPs are an expensive proposition and many artists have only one or two songs which they want to get to their friends and maybe as an audition, it's much better to make a 45 rpm single and here is what those will cost you:

1. Make a first-rate tape:
2. Master acetate: \$30.00 mono.
For EP (4 songs) \$40.00
3. Matrix or metal parts: \$40.00
4. 1,000 labels: \$30.00
5. 500 pressings: \$115.00

So you can get 500 45 rpm records for about \$215.00 plus the cost of your tape. And an EP with four songs costs only a little more. The big saving is in the fact that there is no jacket and no printing! If the records are for regular sales you must add the artist's and composer's royalties.

From these cost figures you will observe that releasing an album which will not sell 5,000 copies is very uneconomical, and LPs which sell only 50 copies per year are rather catastrophic since few of us mortals live to be a hundred years old! Although the list price of most LPs is now \$6.98 and going to \$7.98, the distributors get them from the manufacturers for about \$2.90 and in turn sell them to your local record store for about \$3.60. (Again some increase for \$7.98 albums.) The reason that these prices are so low is due to the discount practice which started many years ago. On the other hand if you can sell your records direct to customers either by mail or from the bandstand, the whole picture begins to look much more enticing. However, your original investment is still considerable.

When you come down to specifics here at Arhoolie our best seller last year sold about 3,500 copies and our worst seller did 28 copies. Our break-even point comes when we sell about 2,000 copies. Major labels once they get their 30,000 copies of a dud back from their distributors who got them back from the stores where very few people bought them, will sell them to dealers who specialize in cut-out LPs and since no royalties are generally paid on such products you can often find real bargains in drug stores or even regular record shops, if you were one of the few who happened to like that particular record! With us little labels we just try to keep the record available over the years and one day if we are lucky it will break even! I feel if a record was once worth doing it ought to stay in the catalog at least until I run out of covers since reprinting them for a slow mover is quite

an expense. However there are real problems with slow moving LPs since distributors don't like to waste their time with them; neither do their sales people nor do the record shops since such discs may sit on their shelves without earning a profit for a long time. And those are basically the reasons why esoteric or limited appeal records are hard to find.

Finally I would like to mention that labels affiliated with the American Federation of Musicians are required to pay a set fee to each musician for each recording session. To my knowledge there is, however, no union rule in regard to royalties, which is left up to the leader of the group. In many instances however, especially in the past, labels have recorded artists by simply paying the required union fee and that's it! Whether the record sells one or a million copies the artists got their one-time union "scale" and many artists still seem to be satisfied with this arrangement. Arhoolie is not affiliated with the musicians union and prefers to pay an advance fee against a royalty for every record sold. I am not opposed to unions per se but find that the musicians' union has been of little or no benefit to the vast majority of folk musicians.

Most of the songs issued on the Arhoolie label are credited to the composer, who is usually the artist himself, and are published by Tradition Music Co. (BMI). I became aware of the publishing end of the music business shortly after I started to record and recall Eddie Shuler of Lake Charles urging me to "get their songs" when he heard what kind of recordings I was making. I asked everyone I met about this and finally it became clear that at that time the only part of what I was doing which was copyrightable was the song! So I started Tradition Music Co. --joined BMI (Broadcast Music Inc.) as a clearing house for publishers and made up standard contracts to acquire the publishing rights to songs which artists would record for Arhoolie. In the Blues field especially most artists will come up with unique material which in most cases is original although, like all folk music, may be based in part on traditional sources.

I soon learned that publishing a song was not only important for the artist/writer's protection but also for my own interest in case--just in case--some famous person would like to record one of these songs. Generally what is involved is this: as the publisher you have the writer sign an agreement by which he or she assigns the rights to publish their song to your firm--in my case Tradition Music Co. The artist will be listed as the composer and your firm as the publisher. Since very few folk musicians ever copyright their material on their own, your firm is responsible for doing that but before you can copyright the song you must have a lead sheet made of the music. Then you fill out a form, send along \$10 and a copy of the lead sheet to the Library of Congress for copyright registration. Then you as the publisher will issue licenses to any and all record companies who wish to use the song at a statutory rate set by law of 2 3/4¢ per copy

sold. The publisher pays half to the writer. If a song becomes a big hit and gets played on the radio or TV then there is extra money which can be earned from such performances. Again the publisher is the intermediary and pays half of what he receives to the writer. Such performance royalties are collected for the publisher by BMI (or ASCAP if you belong to that organization). Most publishers join the Harry Fox Agency to collect and issue licenses in the realm of mechanical royalties deriving from the sale of your song on records.

All this was known to such early pioneers in the recording of folk music as Ralph Peer who recorded among others such legendary names as the Carter Family, Jimmy Rodgers, Tommy Johnson, and many more. He had the foresight to start his own publishing company, which today is one of the big names in the publishing field. Although producers' royalties were unheard of back in the 1920s, Mr. Peer would of course get his share as the publisher on every record sold by any of the artists whose songs he represented, and since almost all that material in those days was previously unpublished he quickly built up an impressive catalog of copyrights, many of which were recorded over and over by many, many, artists in the years since then.

Like many small operators I faced the difficult task of coming up with the money to pay for making the lead sheets and paying the copyright fees. In the fall of 1965 my friend Ed Denson called me and asked if I could tape a little band so they could make a record for a big peace march coming up. We made the tape in my living room and the group was called Country Joe & The Fish. In lieu of payment for my time and use of equipment I requested that they assign their songs to Tradition Music Co. for publication. "I Feel Like I'm Fixin' To Die Rag" was one of these songs and it became Country Joe's big hit, to be recorded several times on the Vanguard label and then it made it onto the Woodstock LP! So that song--Tradition Music's share of the earnings from it--has paid for getting all the songs I have recorded copyrighted and it further helped to get the building where Arhoolie now warehouses on San Pablo Avenue in El Cerrito! Since then, thanks to the Rolling Stones who recorded "You Gotta Move," which is credited to Fred McDowell and Rev. Gary Davis, Tradition Music Co. was able to collect for the sales of the LP "Sticky Fingers" from the decent folks at Atlantic Records. Unfortunately the Stones' then manager Mr. Klein still has not relinquished his claim to the song. Happily I was able to pay Fred McDowell a goodly sum, prior to his untimely death, collected from the sales of this LP by the Rolling Stones. Several other well known artists have recorded songs which are published by Tradition Music Co. and there are hardly better ways to show your appreciation for the old timers and help them earn some money than to record one or two of their songs that they have been singing for years but have seldom received the monetary rewards that can be had if a song makes it onto a record that sells well.

-- Berkeley, California

[Note: The above article was adapted from The Lightning Express, No. 3 (1976), pp. 4-5, 57. A catalog of Arhoolie records is available for \$1.00 from Arhoolie at 10341 San Pablo Ave., El Cerrito, CA 94530.]

FIELD RECORDING WITH THE PHONOGRAPH RECORD IN MIND

By David Evans

In the last fifteen years the study of American folk music has undergone a revolution in the use of the phonograph record as a documentary medium. What began in the 1940s and 1950s as a trickle of records, mostly from the Archive of Folk Song and Folkways Records, has grown into a veritable deluge of several dozen new folk music LPs each month. Few listeners now have the time, much less the money, to keep up with this steady flow of new records, and for the newcomer to the field the task of sorting and choosing from among the thousands of records already available is a monumental one indeed.

With the exception of gospel music and the music of non-English-speaking groups, most of which is still aimed primarily at folk and ethnic audiences, the majority of recent folk music releases have been oriented toward an audience of scholars, specialist record collectors, folk revivalists, and ordinary fans of popular music. The records have been of essentially three types: reissues of earlier records that were originally made for sale to members of various folk groups (e.g., old blues, hill-billy, and Cajun records), contemporary studio recordings, and contemporary field recordings. Of these, the field recorded albums are the least common. By "field recorded" I mean recorded in the familiar surroundings of the performer's own social environment, such as at homes, house parties, community picnics, bars, churches, prisons, and festivals that are organized from within the folk community. There are perhaps as many as two hundred available LPs of such field recorded American folk music. Among American folklorists the pioneers in using phonograph records as a medium for presenting the results of their fieldwork would probably be John and Alan Lomax, Harold Courlander, and Harry Oster, but many amateur field researchers have also used this medium, and by now there are a few dozen professional scholars and others who are actively using this means of presentation.

In the next few pages I would like to discuss some of the considerations that the folklorist should keep in mind when making field recordings for possible issue on documentary records as well as when actually preparing such records. My remarks are based largely on the experience of recording about 2,000 black folksongs of various types in the field since 1965, the publication of ten LPs and one 45 rpm record from these field recordings,¹ and listening to one or two hundred other albums of field recorded American folk music. I would like to discuss recording techniques and problems, rapport with performers, approaches to programming LPs, standards of annotation, and dealings with record companies. To a great extent all of these topics are interrelated.

One of the most important things for the field recorder to remember is not to simulate studio conditions or atmosphere. I have heard several records of so-called "field recordings" that were actually made at the researcher's motel room or the local radio station. The results are often excellent in terms of fidelity and elimination of extraneous non-musical sounds, but the performances often sound lifeless or nervous because of the unfamiliar surroundings. Such recordings, in fact, are not really "field" recordings at all but could at best be called "on location." Most folk performers are at their best when surrounded by family and friends or at least when they are alone in their own homes. For issue on phonograph records we want music of good fidelity, but it must also sound natural and uninhibited. We must also resist the temptation to control the sound of the music by tuning stringed instruments for the musicians or preventing them

from foot tapping. In recording non-western music it would be unthinkable for the collector to retune a native instrument to a western scale, but it is surprising how easily this temptation arises when one is recording a guitar, banjo, mandolin, or fiddle. A good number of American folk musicians have their own ideas of proper intervals and the scale, which do not always conform to the ideas of western classical music theory. I have noted, for example, that a number of blues guitarists tune the strings so that the interval of a neutral third occurs in certain chord positions as a deliberate effect. It may take the field recorder some time to get used to such sounds that seem "out of tune," but they are an extremely important part of the performer's style and must be recorded and presented faithfully. Foot tapping is also an essential rhythmic ingredient in many performances and is definitely not an annoying habit, as it is all too often treated by field recorders who make performers remove their shoes or put a pillow under their feet. It helps many singers and instrumentalists to pace their performance and often adds a great deal of rhythmic variety and excitement. In fact, sometimes when I have an extra microphone to use in the recording of a vocal solo or harmonica player, I put it by the performer's feet.

It goes without saying that one needs to use good recording equipment when collecting folksongs for possible issuance on records. Yet since studio conditions are not sought, the equipment need not be of studio quality or inordinately expensive. I would not advise the use of a cassette recorder for this purpose, but I have made recordings of issuable quality on a machine as inexpensive as the Wollensak. One of the best ways to get the most out of a moderately priced machine is to invest some extra money in good microphones. Most machines come with cheap microphones that are not up to the capabilities of the machines themselves, and the fieldworker would be advised not to rely on these microphones for the best possible recordings.

I would advise the use of two microphones and recording in stereo if at all possible. Stereo sound is almost essential for obtaining good balance when recording music by groups or even self-accompanied vocalists. Ideally one would like to place a microphone on each separate source of sound, but unless one is an expert in recording techniques and has a lot of money for expensive multi-track recorders or mixers, two microphones are quite enough for most field situations. Besides, the presence of additional equipment is apt to make the recording situation more crowded and awkward than it already is. Two microphones can serve most purposes in the field, and they give the collector a product which can be worked with at the editing desk. If one has poor balance between voice and instrument or leader and chorus, this can usually be remedied if they are on separate tracks. And besides, most record albums issued today are in stereo, and most phonographs are capable of playing in stereo. Some record companies therefore are unlikely to consider the use of field recordings unless they are in stereo. On the other hand, I must admit that I have had some of my good-quality stereo recordings reduced to monaural by record companies that still issue records in this manner.

Besides one's tape, tape recorder, microphones, and earphones, there are several additional pieces of equipment that I have found very useful in field recording situations, though they are rarely mentioned in the standard guides for collectors. In the first place, if one expects to record any kind of instrumental music, it is usually a good idea to bring along the instrument. Most blues guitarists that I have

recorded did not possess a guitar when I met them. Harmonica players at best usually own only one harmonica and are therefore unable to accompany other instruments in most keys. Consequently I have made it a practice always to bring with me in the field an acoustic guitar, extra strings and accessories, and a set of five harmonicas. Sometimes I bring a fiddle and banjo too, though I have needed these less often in my own fieldwork. One problem that I have not yet resolved and which has been the bane of my existence as a field-worker has been the performer who owns an electric guitar that is not in proper working order. I have wasted hours in several recording sessions while performers fiddled with sputtering and rumbling amplifiers and loose patch cords and volume controls. Except for the fact that they are bulky and expensive, I would suggest that the folklorist seriously consider bringing an electric guitar and amplifier into the field along with all of his other equipment, if he expects to record this instrument. Another invaluable device in the field that I have discovered is the electrical outlet that screws into a light bulb socket. I have recorded in a number of homes in the South that have no convenient wall socket for plugging in my tape recorder. Rather than rely on my battery pack, I find it much easier to install this inexpensive fixture into an overhead light bulb. Another thing to bring along is plenty of extension cord. This is especially useful on hot summer afternoons and evenings when it's most comfortable to record on the singer's front porch. Long microphone cords are also especially helpful when you want to put your tape deck in a safe and inconspicuous place while getting your microphones where the action is. With all of these long cords on the floor, it is a good idea to bring along some masking tape to attach them securely to the floor so that people won't trip over them. This is especially important when recording in churches or at places where there are dancers.

Many field researchers are dismayed to find that their recordings of fine performances are ruined for the purpose of issue on phonograph records by the presence of extraneous non-musical sounds, such as the conversation of others in the room, the sounds of children at play, babies crying, doors slamming, roosters crowing, and trucks rumbling along the road outside. I have certainly had my share of such experiences. Perhaps my most spectacular case of background noise was that of a woman who was unable to suppress the need to vomit in the middle of an excellent performance of a spiritual by another singer. I still have this on my tape--the sound, that is! But a certain amount of background noise is to be expected in field recordings, and the record listener should be expected to tolerate it in small amounts. Sometimes it can even enhance the feeling of naturalness in the recording. My favorite example of this is the time I was recording a performance of "Banty Rooster Blues." After the singer sang the line, "What you want with a rooster when he won't crow 'fore day?," a rooster began crowing in response off in the distance. The result is quite audible on my tape, and I hope to issue it someday on a record. But if one wants to eliminate most of the background noise, there are several techniques of positioning that can be helpful. If the performer is placed so that he faces the front door, then the microphones will face away from the sounds that might come from the street outside. The performer should also be placed in a corner or near a wall so that no one can stand behind him and talk. If other people are present and making noise, they will then be behind the microphones rather than talking into them. The microphones should be positioned so that they are as close as possible to the sources of the sound that you want to record and aimed directly at these sound sources. If possible, I like to place microphones no more than a foot from the singer's mouth or the sound-hole of an acoustic guitar. I have not found that this makes the performers nervous, and its benefits are an extraordinary intimacy in the sound of the recording and the suppression of a great deal of the background noise from more distant sources. It is even possible to record in this manner while an electric fan is going or a television set is playing in the next room without having these sounds show up noticeably on the tape. The problem of the performer bumping a microphone or causing it to shake through heavy foot tapping can be avoided by using

boom stands. The use of foam rubber windscreens over the microphones can also help in the elimination of extraneous noises.

The most difficult folk music to record in my experience is that which takes place in its natural context. Fife and drum music at country picnics is a good case in point. Here the musicians are moving about rapidly while a crowd of spectators and dancers converges on them from all directions. Sometimes a dancer is groveling in the dust underneath the drums. The use of microphone stands is undesirable because the microphones would be stationary while the musicians are moving, and furthermore, there would be a great danger that the stands would be knocked over. The microphones must be hand held, but if the collector tries to get close to the musicians with them, he might interfere with the music and dancing or might trip somebody with his microphone line. One technique that I found successful in such cases was to give the microphones to children and let them hold them while dancing up close to the musicians. They were able to obtain excellent fidelity without bumping into anyone, and the fact that they were children meant that the microphone lines dragged on the ground where they were less likely to cause tripping or entanglement. I was then able to stay with my tape deck and monitor the volume of this incredibly loud music.

I have also found it very hard to get good recordings in churches mainly because of the difficulty of placing microphones close to the sources of the sound. Ideally one needs about seven microphones to record the entire service adequately. One would be placed on or in front of the pulpit in order to pick up the preacher's sermon. (Be careful not to stand the microphone on the lectern, however, as some fire-and-brimstone preachers are in the habit of picking up the lectern and using it as a weapon to beat Satan into the floor.) Another microphone would be placed below the pulpit near the secretary's table where the deacons usually offer their prayers. Two microphones would be ideal for the choir, which is usually located behind or to one side of the preacher, and another microphone would be needed for the piano or organ. Two other microphones would be ideal for picking up the congregation, one located near the deacons and the other near the church mothers. These groups usually sit opposite each other along the side walls between the first row of pews and the pulpit, and they tend to be the most vocal members of the congregation in the singing and in helping the preacher with responses to his sermon. But with only two microphones to work with, one has to rely on luck and guesswork. In such cases I usually place one microphone in front of the preacher's lectern at the level of his mouth in order to pick up the sermon clearly and hopefully get a fairly good recording of the choir. The other microphone I usually try to place at the level of the seated congregation in front of the first pew near the center aisle. On this I try to pick up the prayers and congregational singing and responses. If the service is a revival, this location will usually prove to be near the mourners' bench, where much of the action takes place. If I sit near this microphone with my tape deck, I can often maneuver it discreetly in the direction of the most interesting sound in this general area. But these are at best only partial solutions to the problems that this context imposes for recording. When the church is Sanctified or of some other pentecostal demonstration, the problems are magnified. Here a musical accompaniment may be heard incessantly and often very loudly throughout the entire service, including the prayers and the sermon, played by an orchestra that usually consists of at least a piano or organ, an electric guitar, and a drum set. Furthermore, the preacher often roams all over the floor, preaching into a microphone or megaphone held in his hand. The resulting sound is often nearly incomprehensible. In order to make the best of this situation, it is wise to keep the microphones as far from the orchestra as possible, since its sound will carry in any case. One microphone might again be placed near the head of the center aisle facing the congregation in order to pick up their testimony, singing, and tambourine playing, while the other microphone should ideally be taped to the preacher's hand-held microphone in order to pick up his natural voice rather than the amplified and proba-

bly distorted sound of his public address system. I have also found it useful to tape my own microphones to the hand-held microphones used by some gospel quartets in church performances, though I really prefer to record quartets at week-night practice sessions. These sessions are usually attended by friends and relatives of the singers and have the air of a true performance context, yet they are informal enough that the field researcher can move himself, his equipment, and the performers about in order to obtain the best possible recordings.

Even when the field researcher has taken care of some of the technical problems of recording described here, the developing context of the session can sometimes work to ruin the resultant music for issue on phonograph records. Once I made the mistake of arranging for six musicians to be at the same session. It was a sweltering summer night with about twenty people crowded into a small room with a piano, refrigerator, double bed, couch, and my recording equipment and guitar cases. Everyone seemed to want to record at once, but most were unable to play together. When one of the musicians became unbearable to everyone else, our hostess' brother, who had only recently been released from prison after serving several years for murder, picked the man up bodily and threw him out of the house, threatening to kill him if he tried to return. Needless to say, none of the music that I recorded at this session was suitable for release on a record, although all of the musicians were normally good performers. At other times I have seen peaceful sessions develop into riotous house parties, as friends and neighbors, attracted by the sound of music, have dropped in and turned the sessions into drunken mob scenes. Often the recording of music and interviews becomes impossible in such situations.

Factors related to the establishment of rapport can affect a singer's willingness to perform in front of the researcher's tape recorder. I have found that a great many performers think that I am primarily in the business of making records, and they find it hard to understand my research interest in their songs. Most performers would like to have their songs put on phonograph records, and those who are reluctant to record are usually so only because they don't think their music is very good or worth anyone's attention. Many musicians have requested that I bring their songs out on records. I can only tell them that I will try to do so, and I try to say this only when I think there is a real possibility of something being issued. Nevertheless, the concept of a phonograph record held by my informants is certainly not the documentary LP. Instead it is the hit single that one hears on the radio and juke boxes and that one can buy in the local stores. There is inevitably some disappointment and occasionally lingering misunderstanding when fame and fortune fail to reach the performer in this manner. Fortunately though, most performers are pleased with even the limited notoriety and royalty money that a documentary record provides. In order to maintain this favorable attitude, however, the folklorist must be very careful not to inflate further the hopes of his informants regarding phonograph records. I can offer a personal experience to support this warning. In 1969 a blues singer insisted that I issue two of his songs on a 45 rpm single record that could be played on the local jukeboxes. I agreed very reluctantly and only because the performer was quite good and I felt that I could sell enough copies to collectors to break even on the arrangement. I chose the two best performances and pressed 500 copies of the record. I sent off a package of 25 records to the singer to sell to his friends, and he promptly got himself arrested in Mississippi for selling without a retailer's license. The fact that he had formerly spent time in that state's penitentiary for murder didn't help his case. He had to raise \$500 from his sister and me to retrieve his automobile from the police and keep himself off the county work gang. All of the money from the sale of the remaining copies of his record went to pay off part of this debt, and as a result nobody made a profit or was satisfied.

There are other techniques of establishing rapport that might affect the quality of performance and make it suitable or not suitable for use on a record. One of these

is the payment of money for recording. This practice seems to be frowned upon by most folklorists, yet I consider it to be quite proper in cases where the performer would normally be compensated for his services by members of his own community. Such is often the case with blues singers, for example. Anyone who is unemployed or taking time off from work to record certainly deserves compensation for his time also. Performers of religious folksongs, such as gospel singers, might be reluctant to accept personal payment, but most are not beyond accepting money if it is expressed in the form of a "donation" for the purpose of furthering the Lord's work. I find it best to play it by ear when it comes to money, and when payment is given, I try to make clear that it is compensation for the performer's time and not for the songs. Usually the performer will bring up the subject of money himself, if it is of concern to him. In fact, in one case I had a performer refuse to record because he thought that he would have to pay me for making records of his music. Ideally I like to agree to terms before the recording starts and make payment at the end of the session.

Besides the payment of money, another stimulus to good performance can be liquor. This is another touchy subject among folklorists, and the general feeling, I think, is that liquor should not be provided. Certainly it would be unthinkable to offer liquor to performers of religious songs, and one should be very careful in broaching the subject in the presence of women and children. With some types of music, however, such as the blues, liquor is a normal accompaniment to the music. Some blues singers, in fact, will not perform until they have had a few drinks "to get their nerve up." Others though are teetotalers or very light drinkers, yet I know of no blues singers who are offended by the idea of drinking. Only a few times have I run into difficulties with overindulgence from liquor that I provided, and all of these cases were with people who had a drinking problem to begin with. The biggest problems are with performers who provide their own liquor. I vividly recall one drummer whom I was recording who came crashing to the floor in the middle of a song, the victim of too much home-made "white lightning."

Performance by the collector has often been cited as a means of increasing rapport with one's informants, and it can indeed be a stimulus to better performance. I have often found it useful in working with blues singers, and I have never observed it to affect their own repertoires. However, I have noted a disturbing tendency on some recent records for the collector to record himself accompanying his informants, usually in a role that is quite superfluous to a successful performance. Folklorists should make every attempt to avoid recording themselves with their informants, unless it is clear that this is the only way to get them to perform at all. Such recordings, however, have their value as authentic documents of traditional style seriously reduced, no matter how good the playing of the collector might be.

Assuming that the folklorist has some field recordings of issuable quality and of sufficient folkloristic interest, he faces the question of how to compile and program an album. Usually this problem presents itself after the recordings have already been made, but there is no reason why the prospect of issuing material on a documentary record album should not in itself provide a design for field research. By far the most common types of field recorded albums are those which present the music of a single performer or group; a single performance genre with selections by several artists; a single folk group (e.g., cowboys, Mormons, lumberjacks) with various performers, genres, and styles; or a single broad region (e.g., Mississippi, the Ozarks). Certainly there is room for many more albums using these approaches, but other approaches are needed as well. There are still only a few albums available that seek to document the various traditional musical styles to be found in a single community, even though the musical interaction that takes place in such communities is at the heart of the oral traditional processes that we study as folklorists. The traditions of single extended families also need to be explored on LP. Alan Jabbour and Carl Fleischhauer's double-album on the Hammons family stands as a rather lonely monument to what can be accomplished in this area.²

This set is also notable for its mixing of folk music with other genres of verbal folklore. The LP record is also potentially an excellent medium for the documentation of a single folk-organized musical event. There are a few LP's available of fiddlers' and Sacred Harp conventions, but these seem to present only the musical highlights. For this type of an album Bruce Bastin's recording of a complete medicine show serves as another lonely monument.³ There is great potential for other folklorists to program albums that would document such events as house parties, picnics, gospel shows, and church services from beginning to end. We could also use more albums that present a selection of songs on a single theme. Pete Welding's compilations of blues on the theme of travel and songs on the assassination of President Kennedy show what can be done in this area.⁴ My own compilation of songs by twelve different artists, all learned from a single performer, Tommy Johnson, represents a further possibility in programming that other folklorists might explore.⁵ We also need more albums that present multiple versions of a single piece. We have such studies for the traditional ballads "Barbara Allen" and "The Unfortunate Rake,"⁶ but we need others devoted to such subjects as a traditional blues, a mountain lyric, a church song, or a traditional instrumental piece. There are probably many more possibilities for programming that need only the application of a little imagination by folklorists.

Standards of annotation for field recorded albums vary greatly. Ideally we would desire with each LP an accompanying booklet containing biographical sketches of the artists, information on the sources of their songs, dates and places of recording, a discussion of the role of the songs in the lives and repertoires of the performers and in their folk culture, transcriptions of the lyrics, analysis of the musical style and performance, a bibliography and discography of additional variants, and a discussion of the history and scholarship on each piece. Such a booklet, however, would be very lengthy, expensive to print, and difficult to package. In short, for most records it would be impossible, and if we were to demand that the companies include such booklets in the records of our field recordings, most of them would refuse to issue our material. We should try for as much annotation as we can get, but at the present time we should not expect more than the back of an album jacket, unless we are dealing with a company that is not out to make a profit or at least break even. Any more space than this must be considered a special privilege. Under the circumstances, I hesitate to suggest what the minimal sort of annotation should be. Each different kind of record will have its own needs, but in most cases I think that the notes should provide at least the places and dates of recording, biographical sketches of the performers, and something about their relationship to the songs on the album. Since there is much more that most folklorists would like to include, I would suggest that they explore the possibility of publishing separate books and articles related to their LP productions. Bibliographic references to these publications could be printed on the album notes. This practice would relieve the record companies from the burden of printing expensive booklets or fold-out covers. I find it surprising that this obvious method of annotation has largely been overlooked by folklorists, but I hope that it will be more fully utilized in the future.

The mention of commercial considerations brings me to my final subject, the folklorist's dealings with record companies. As for the major companies, I would advise anyone here to forget about them when it comes to issuing field recordings. There are, however, a few dozen specialist companies in America and abroad which have shown an interest in this kind of music. Hardly any of these are operated by people with any formal folkloristic training, yet most of the proprietors are very sympathetic to the interests of folklorists and are also quite knowledgeable about the music, often more so than many folklorists themselves are. There have been very few get-rich-quick artists in this business, and those few have not survived very long, because basically there is no way to get rich by issuing field recordings. Most of the owners of these small independent companies are motivated primarily by a love of the type of music that they issue. In

fact, they often hold other jobs that provide them with a living wage. Yet unless they are independently funded, they must at least break even financially on their issues, and they must make a fair profit if they want to keep bringing out new issues at more than a snail's pace. The typical initial pressing for a specialist folk music LP is 500 copies. Adding the cost of advance royalties to the artists, mastering and pressing the discs, printing the labels and jackets, distribution, and advertising, this initial pressing usually costs the company at least a thousand dollars. When the pressing of 500 is sold out, the company is lucky to have broken even, and then it faces the decision of whether to order a second pressing. The consequence of such financial facts of life is that these companies, despite their good intentions, must look very long and hard at the potential market for any record that they are considering releasing. A market of 500 folklorists for every documentary LP of field recordings simply does not exist. In fact, I doubt that a market of 50 folklorists exists for most such records. Consequently the companies must look primarily to a popular and folk revivalist audience to purchase their products. Such audiences tend to be much less discriminating than folklorists in matters of authenticity and documentation, and their tastes tend to be rather narrow and fickle. For instance, they are almost entirely uninterested in religious folksongs or pieces without complex instrumental accompaniment. Little besides blues, bluegrass, and banjo and fiddle music can be issued these days from field recordings if the expectation is at least to break even. This is especially unfortunate because the phonograph record can be a particularly intimate medium, ideal for presenting such non-performance-oriented forms of music as worksongs, lullabies, congregational church singing, some of the older ballads, and various kinds of home music.

Besides gauging the tastes of the record audience for his field recordings, the folklorist usually has to consider also the tastes of the company owners. Like the editors at most publishing houses, they are seldom willing to give the folklorist a completely free hand with his product. Most company owners would like the option of choosing the selections to appear on an album from a large number of pieces recorded by the folklorist with the object of presenting a product that is musically as strong as possible. The performances themselves must appeal to the record buying audience on aesthetic grounds if the record is to sell, no matter how important the songs are from a purely folkloristic viewpoint and no matter how excellent the annotation is. Record company owners, therefore, often take a hand in choosing the selections, splicing out obvious mistakes, and sometimes even editing out entire stanzas from a song. I cannot approve of all of these practices, but I can understand them from a financial standpoint.

To summarize, then, it would appear that there are three main factors that have prevented the full use of the phonograph record by folklorists as a medium for presenting the results of their fieldwork. One is the ignorance of proper field techniques in order to obtain recordings of issuable quality. This can easily be remedied through the use of a little common sense along with some practice and training. The second factor is a lack of sufficient imagination on the part of many folklorists in programming and documenting LPs. On this all I can say is that I think the situation is improving. The third factor is the financial situation that the record companies face, which forces them to gear their products toward a market comprised mostly of non-folklorists. The solution to this last problem is the most difficult of all, but as I envision it, it lies in the creation of a constituency of about 500 individual folklorists, students, archives, and libraries that will consistently support good documentary phonograph records by purchasing them. This will come about in part through the expansion of the discipline of folklore, which is currently taking place. Folklorists can also help this process greatly by building strong recorded sound collections of American folk music in their university libraries. An expenditure of \$500 per year would enable a library to purchase about 100 record albums of folk music, an amount that is surely not unreasonable.

The creation of this constituency and the consequent guarantee of a fair number of sales for records of quality would bring about several beneficial results. In the first place, it would enable the companies to allow more freedom to the folklorist in programming his productions and in presenting other kinds of folk music than those which are currently fashionable with the non-folklorist audience. It would also allow the inclusion of more extensive and more costly annotation with the albums. Thirdly, it might help to increase the amount of the advance royalty payment to the artists, which I have found to average now about \$200

per LP. If one is producing a record containing the music of 15 different performers, this amount does not go very far. Finally, the better LP productions that would become available would result in a broader education in the field of folk music for the folk revival and popular audience, which can be counted on to continue to show an interest in this subject. The improvement in the quality and number of documentary albums of field recorded folk music is a task that requires the cooperative efforts of the folk performers themselves, the folklorists, the record company owners, and the audience for the records. The time for this cooperation is now.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Down the Big Road"/"Blues on My Mind" by Roosevelt Holts with Boogie Bill, 45 rpm record, and the following 12" LPs: Goin' Up the Country, British Decca LK 4931 (reissued on Rounder 2012); Presenting the Country Blues: Roosevelt Holts, Blue Horizon 7-63201; It Must Have Been the Devil: Mississippi Country Blues by Jack Owens and Bud Spires, Testament T-2222; Roosevelt Holts and His Friends, Arhoolie 1057; Traveling Through the Jungle: Negro Fife and Drum Band Music From the Deep South, Testament T-2223; South Mississippi Blues, Rounder 2009; The Legacy of Tommy Johnson, Matchbox SDM-224; High Water Blues, Flyright LP 512; Sorrow Come Pass Me Around: A Survey of Rural Black Religious Music, Advent 2805; and Afro-American Folk Music From Tate and Panola Counties, Mississippi, Archive of Folk Song AFS L67, in production.
2. The Hammons Family: A Study of a West Virginia Family's Traditions, Archive of Folk Song AFS L65-66, double LP. Additional selections by members of this family can be heard on Shaking Down the Acorns, Rounder 0018.
3. The Last Medicine Show, Flyright 507 and 508, 12" LPs.
4. Ramblin' On My Mind, Milestone MLP-3002, and Can't Keep From Crying, Testament S-01, 12" LPs.
5. The Legacy of Tommy Johnson, Matchbox SDM-224, 12" LP.
6. Versions and Variants of "Barbara Allen", Archive of Folk Song AFS L54, and The Unfortunate Rake, Folkways 3805, 12" LP.

-- California State University,
Fullerton

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WILL ROY HEARNE DONATES RESEARCH FILES TO JEMF

One of the world's pioneers in discographical research has donated his files to the JEMF. Since 1943, Hearne, now past eighty-six years of age, has devoted himself to compilations of complete numerical listings of every label active between the two World Wars that drew upon American master recordings of non-classical music. The bulk of his files consist of 3x5 slips of paper, one per record, for some sixty or seventy domestic and foreign labels. Each slip contains at least title and artist credits; many also include release dates, master numbers, composer credits, cross-references to parallel issues on other labels, and source of information. Hearne estimates that he may have accumulated some 100,000 such slips. In addition, for some series he has alphabetical title listings and for some, master number listings. The contents of his files have not been completely inventoried, but a sampling of the listings includes:

Banner: 500-800, 1500-2180, 6000-6170, 7000-7260,
32000-33500 (approx. 3000 cards)
Bell (Hawaiian): 1-500+ (approx. 100 cards)
Bluebird: 500-640, 5000-11600 (approx. 7000 cards)
Brunswick: 100-500, 2000-8500, 10000+ (8000 cards)
Cameo: 200-290, 8000-8380, 9000-9320 (800 cards)
Challenge: 100-1000 (700 cards)
Conqueror: 7000-8200 (900 cards)
Crown: 3000-3500 (450 cards)
Domino: 100-440, 3440-4700 (1500 cards)
Emerson: 500-800, 900-1100, some 1200-2000,
3000-3140, some 5100s, 9100-9230,
10100-10900 (over 2000 cards)
Lincoln: 2000-3340 (1300 cards)
Lucky (Japan): 6000-60250+ (600 cards)
National Music Lovers: 1000-1250 (150 cards)
OKeh: some 1000s, 4000-5000, 8000-9000, 40000-
41600, 45000s (over 4000 cards)
Odeon: 3000-3580 (600 cards)
Vocalion: 1000-1750, 5000-5600, 2500-5000, 14000-160
16030 (3800 cards)

For a fuller account of Hearne's career and activities, see Ed Kahn's "Will Roy Hearne: Peripheral Folk Song Scholar," in Western Folklore 23 (1964), 173-179. Hearne has been a member of JEMF's board of advisors since the Foundation was organized.



Will Roy Hearne and JEMF President Gene Earle

EARLY FOLK FESTIVALS IN AMERICA: AN INTRODUCTION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

By Timothy Charles Lloyd

[The author, Tim Lloyd, is Director of the Traditional Arts Program of the Ohio Foundation on the Arts, Inc., located in Columbus, Ohio.]

In a recent *JEMFO* article (Vol. XI, Part 1, pp. 23-32), Archie Green discussed the beginnings of the National Folk Festival Association and urged that research be undertaken into the nature of and the motives underlying the mediation between "folk culture" and society at large provided by folk festivals and other institutions. Along those lines I have investigated, through the *Readers' Guide*, the literature concerning folk festivals to be found in non-folkloric publications, and in the course of compiling a bibliography of that literature, have found that the major impetus behind the "folk festival movement" in the United States during the first part of this century was provided by recreation organizations and personnel.

Below I offer a short analysis of articles written by Percival Chubb and Sarah Gertrude Knott for the journal *Recreation*, that are critical for an understanding of the purposes and functions of early folk festivals, and of the uses of folkloric materials in them, as conceived and articulated by those involved in festival production and development. This is followed by a bibliography of all materials in the bibliography written by Sarah Gertrude Knott, who must certainly be regarded as the prime mover of the "folk festival movement" in America.

In the first third of this century, sociologists, social workers, recreation personnel, and many others became increasingly concerned with what was then known as "the problem of leisure." This problem was seen to have been caused primarily by the increasing utilization of mechanized and specialized means of industrial production and business activity, which restricted an individual's participation in the whole process of work in which he or she was involved to an economically-calculated minimum, thus limiting or eliminating from many forms of human labor an essential element: the

opportunity for individual initiative, participation, or creativity; or, in a phrase of the time, the opportunity for "adequate self-development"¹ in and through work. If "self-development," in any more than an economic sense, was to be pursued, then it would have to be pursued in non-working hours. To compound the problem, however, the technical premises of the factory and shop were often carried over into leisure time, thus creating recreational fragmentation as well. Increasing spectatorship in recreation, for instance, was equated with increasing specialization in industry.² This situation called for the conception and development of leisure-time activities for adults as well as children that were derived from more humanistic premises which valued wide participation, creativity, and wholesome entertainment. Some years earlier, the increasing acceptance of the eight-hour working day had extended the problem of obtaining meaningful leisure activity to those of the urban laboring class, who theretofore had had little enough spare time at all. At the end of this period, the Depression precluded for many the possibility of any work whatsoever, thereby creating in many cases a virtually unlimited amount of spare time.

The problem of the conversion of idle spare time to meaningful leisure was clear to Percival Chubb when in 1934, following the production of the first National Folk Festival at St. Louis, he wrote "Folk Culture and Leisure."³ Chubb states:

The festival scored a popular success. It was on the whole a good show--novel, quaint, and at times sensational. But its more serious significance lay in its bearing on the pressing problem of developing lei-

sure activities to fill the large increment of spare time now being forced upon the masses of laboring folk. How far does the solution lie in the recovery of those perishing forms of folk culture which specialists are hastening to record before it is too late? How many of these entertaining items were more than museum pieces destined for exhibit, along with antique furniture and costumes, in our mortuaries of outmoded treasure? And how many had a future for the new leisure?⁴

I am not certain as to the full extent of Chubb's contact with the discipline or materials of folklore, although in his book *Festivals and Plays in Schools and Elsewhere*,⁵ published in 1912, he cites Chambers' *Book of Days*, Gummere's *The Beginnings of Poetry*, Sharp and Macilwaine's *The Morris Book*, and Tylor's *Anthropology* as references. While Director of Festivals at the Ethical Culture School in New York City, he was involved, as were many of the teachers and recreation personnel of his time, in the production of many adaptations for children of historical and calendrical pageants and festivals.⁶

This background led him to see the potential of the traditional program elements of the St. Louis festival for reworking and adaptation, along much the same lines as the adaptations of traditional festivals and pageants with which he was familiar, into the sort of meaningful leisure activities for urban children and adults that he sought to develop. He could see in the performances of the North Carolina Playmakers and others (who used traditional materials as part of presentations that were not themselves traditional), that this potential had already begun to be realized. Here were traditional activities whose natural context seemed to be a time prior to and a space separate from the "problem of leisure"; activities whose "texts," whether words, melodies, costumes, or dance steps, could be drawn from that traditional context; adapted to contemporary styles of performance (as in the case of an unaccompanied ballad expanded into four-part choral harmony with piano accompaniment); applied to the task of creating meaningful leisure activity in a new context of recreation-center classes, schools, and social or "folklore" clubs; and then re-presented to a larger community in a performance which was itself recreational.

It is this process of transferring the outward text from one contextual and functional system to another that seems to be at the heart of all varieties of mediation between folk culture and society at large.⁷ The sort of festival Chubb hoped to create differs from the school pageants he and others had produced in that rather than attempting to recreate a particular festival, he sought to develop what we may call "festal shows," since they appropriate traditional texts (in the above sense of "text") into the new and contemporary context of wholesome and entertaining solutions to

the leisure problem. I believe that Chubb's desire was to re-create, from his position in the profession of "re-creation," the feelings of group identity and validation that he felt were part of traditional activities in their natural context, through activities leading up to and including a modern-day performance based upon participation and creativity.

For Chubb, leisure activity based upon traditional forms was desirable largely because it was *participatory*. In the activities and festivals he conceives, all may take part. He does single out "handicrafts" as having promise for the "expression of man's joy in his work" on the part of those with the requisite manual skills, but he emphasizes as primary the forms of song, dance, and dramatic presentation--all forms amenable to easy participation--for those "folk of more average endowment."⁸ We may note that many others seem to agree with Chubb here. Most recreation-oriented festivals, camps, and workshops up to the present day feature only song, dance, storytelling and recitation, and drama, with but few mentions of crafts, cooking, and (save for simple song and dance accompaniments) instrumental music. With the exception of instrumental music, this is also largely true of the National Folk Festival throughout its history.

While acceding to the "antiquarian" interest in folkloric materials *per se*, Chubb was primarily interested in those materials insofar as they could be adapted and developed for leisure use by society at large. He thought of the folk festival as an opportunity to present both traditional materials and adapted materials and adapted materials learned in the recreative contexts of classes, clubs, recreation centers, camps, and workshops in an event which itself constituted "whole-some"⁹ entertainment for participants and audience. What is more, he goes on to predict that

...future folk festivals may well give a subordinate a place to survivals whose interest in mostly antiquarian, and feature chiefly the new developments that will serve the new leisure in the modern spirit...¹⁰

By 1939 there had been five National Folk Festivals, and a movement toward the organization of folk festivals and activities at the state and local levels, encouraged and promoted by Sarah Gertrude Knott, was well underway. In "The Traditional in Recreation,"¹¹ published in March 1939, and the April 1942 article, "Folk Lore in Our Day,"¹² Knott outlines the progress of the folk festival movement and indicates its potential for the future.

Miss Knott was primarily concerned with the revival of folk expressions in the rapidly changing circumstances of modern life, and, as Green notes, she made a distinction between those folklorists who were in favor of such a

revival and those who were not.¹³

Many of the first collections here were not made with any idea of continued use as folk expressions, but within the last ten years there has been an increasing interest in usable songs and dances, including music, for the songs, directions for the dance as well as myths and tales for use. Music teachers, physical education directors, rural sociologists, recreation leaders, and others have begun to draw their material from these sources. Even anthropologists and scientific folklorists are beginning to humanize their approach.¹⁴

She felt that this revival could be understood in terms of a transition from what she took to be the "unconscious" use and function of folklore in traditional society (a conception undoubtedly borrowed from early folklore theory) to a more "conscious" application of those materials towards the solution of problems of contemporary society, many of which, as previously illustrated, seemed to call for traditional solutions presented in the contemporary context of recreation.

...if the surviving traditional expressions which have gone into the making of our nation are to be continued, a more conscious attitude toward them must be taken by the people themselves, as well as by educators and recreation leaders....Some of these expressions will be passed on from one generation to another whether anything is done about it or not; others need stimulation. If the leaders in education and recreation have sufficient vision, while this material is still a living force, there is no reason why there should not be a transition from the unconscious traditional art to a more conscious one, keeping the sincere honesty and simplicity of expression that characterize the folk.¹⁵

We can see in this last phrase a confirmation of Green's statement of the general limits of Knott's aesthetic; as he points out, she did not "cotton to commercially successful performers of folksong" or to "successful artists from the recording studio or concert circuit."¹⁶ We do know, however, that she did "cotton to" recreationally-oriented "performers of folksong." Further investigation will hopefully tell us where and how she drew the line between these two groups. Like Percival Chubb, Miss Knott felt that folk festivals provided opportunities for the presentation of both traditional activities and recreational activities derived from tradition.

The first National Folk Festival's objective was to call attention to the amazingly rich variety of four folk expressions and encourage continued participation by giving opportunity to the people who have it in their

heart to sing and dance and play for the sheer joy of it.¹⁷

The National Folk Festival served as the national showplace for the best of these latter activities, but it was clear to her that the effective location for attempts at solutions to the problem of the identification and development of new functions and applications for folkloric materials lay in the community.

Through the incentive of the national festival, preliminary state and community festivals have sprung up in the last few years in Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, from which the best representative groups of the different regions have been sent to the national festival each year. Throughout the year festivals have been held through the cooperation of the National Folk Festival under the direction of leaders in the state, giving many people a much needed cultural leisure time activity.¹⁸

...while the National Folk Festival is an incentive to local folk festivals, it is the local festival which reaches down to the roots of a community and gives a true picture of its life.¹⁹

The combination of national and local efforts constituted the "folk festival movement."

As Green mentions, Knott shared the view that "festivals helped to 'eradicate racial and nationalistic prejudices' and to build 'strong national unity.'"²⁰ She seems also to regard as beyond question that *participation* in recreational activities derived from various ethnic traditions, as well as presence at the performance of those activities, would in itself foster better understanding and serve to eliminate prejudice among participants. In the case of both of these assumptions, she certainly felt, along with many early folklorists and students of culture, that each of the world's cultures possessed its own particular spirit or "ethos," which was derived from circumstances of time and place, which was expressed in its folklore, and which was therein made available for appropriation in the cause of understanding.

Deep-seated folk expressions offer one of the more significant mediums through which to arrive at better understanding, since through them we see individual differences and similarities which grew out of racial and national needs and experiences. There is a universal strain running throughout the whole body of folk traditions which shows a fundamental kinship of all the human race. If a cultural relations program is of

value in cementing friendships and the realization of common ideals internationally, it is reasonable to think that a practical, educational activity program applied to our own country, which utilizes in democratic fashion the traditional heritages of all our people, might serve a great purpose in the present and future development of our country.²¹

In this regard, she extends Chubb's general endorsement of participation (with which I am sure she agreed) to endorsements of the value of participation in particular didactic situations. In addition, Knott states, although she does not expand upon, her belief that American traditional forms, through that ability to reveal the spirit of our history and life, may also become the foundation for truly American forms of art.

America is a young nation. Our literature has not been written. It has just been begun. The pictures with the coloring of America have not been painted. They, too, are in the making. We have merely glimpsed the possibilities in the great music to come from the enjoyment of America's distinctive rhythms in composition. When our national art is created, if we run true to the history of other nations and ages, much of it will no doubt be based on the folk songs, music and dances which express the inherent characteristics and heart-throbs of our people.²²

Finally, Miss Knott closes her 1939 paper with directions for those involved in the folk festival movement:

...recreation leaders...can do much by familiarizing themselves with the expressions which are likely to be right around them, and by going further into research in the various fields already pioneered by collectors whose works can be found in every library. Both the trained and untrained leader should include either genuine survivals or sincere revivals...if all cultural-recreational associations in the country will move forward together in continuing survivals wherever it is possible, making revivals where it is necessary, while there is still a pattern to go by we can do much in creating a "roots-in-the-soil" culture, at the same time giving joy to thousands who want to sing and dance and play. This is, of course, the chief concern of recreation leaders in the challenging present, when leisure time, with the search for constructive uses, sweeps over us like the tidal wave.²³

Sarah Gertrude Knott must certainly be viewed as the link between folklorists and collectors on the one hand, and recreation and education personnel on the other. She worked directly with

many of the scholars of her time (Ben Botkin, Arthur Campa, and Vance Randolph, for instance) and supported their efforts to collect and understand folkloric materials; she developed and encouraged the development of applications of those materials to recreational, civic, and humanitarian ends at the community level by recreation, education, and social-service workers; and she tirelessly promoted folk festivals as showplaces for both traditional materials and adaptations from tradition.

The journal *Recreation* may be consulted for many reports of the application of the work of Knott, Chubb, and others. Articles by Jane Farwell, Willie Madge Bryant, Helen Sommer, and Mary Barnum Bush Hauck contain much material concerning the planning and content of local recreation-oriented festivals. Farwell's writings in particular point out the importance of 4-H and extension organizations in the production of local festivals at summer camps and conventions. In addition, a passage in one of her articles illustrates what are, I suppose, the beginnings of an inter-cultural understanding prompted by 4-H folk festivals in West Virginia in the middle 1940s:

Those who have long since decided that folk activities are "tops" in recreation value, in teaching fellowship and good will, in teaching tolerance and cooperation, will not be surprised to know that during the past three camps, we have felt free to invite Negroes to join us in our group, though it took several years to arrive at that point.²⁴

The application of folkloric materials to recreational and other ends in the context of the class, workshop, camps, or festival is only one set of examples of the mediation by various institutions between "folk culture" and society at large. As stated earlier, I believe that such mediations are based upon the transposition of traditional "texts" from one context to another. This belief is, however, only a preliminary guess, and its validity as a pattern depends upon further study of its applicability to situations ranging from other folk festivals to folkloric filmmaking to publicly-funded federal and state folklore programs. This is not to say that the subject at hand is exhausted. Much more study is required before we know enough about the concepts of recreational personnel concerning folkloric materials and their use, and the applications to which those concepts have been put.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹Chubb, Percival. *Festivals and Plays in Schools and Elsewhere*. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1912.) P. 5.
- ²Chubb, Percival. "Folk Culture and Leisure," in *Recreation*, 28:6, (New York: National Recreation Association, September 1934), p. 278.
- ³*Ibid*, p. 278.
- ⁴*Ibid*, p. 278.
- ⁵See note 1.
- ⁶In this regard, see also Needham, Mary Master. *Folk Festivals: Their Growth and How to Give Them*. (New York: B. W. Huebach, 1912.)
- ⁷This process of transferring "text" from one context to another, as well as the motives for such transfer, are very close to the semiological system described by Roland Barthes in an essay entitled "Myth Today," which is contained in his book *Mythologies*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972).
- ⁸Chubb, Percival. "Folk Culture," p. 279.
- ⁹*Ibid*, p. 279.
- ¹⁰*Ibid*, p. 279.
- ¹¹Knott, Sarah Gertrude. "The Traditional in Recreation," in *Recreation*, 32 (March 1939), pp. 643-6.
- ¹²Knott, Sarah Gertrude. "Folk Lore in Our Day," in *Recreation*, 36 (April 1942), pp. 23-6.
- ¹³Green, Archie. "Commercial Music Graphics #32: The National Folk Festival Association," *JEMFQ*, XI: Part 1 (Spring 1975), p. 25.
- ¹⁴Knott, "Folk Lore," p. 26.
- ¹⁵Knott, "The Traditional," p. 645.
- ¹⁶Green, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
- ¹⁷Knott, "The Traditional," p. 643.
- ¹⁸Knott, "The Traditional," p. 643.
- ¹⁹Knott, "Folk Lore," p. 24.
- ²⁰Green, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
- ²¹Knott, "Folk Lore," p. 24.
- ²²Knott, "The Traditional," p. 644.
- ²³Knott, "The Traditional," p. 646.
- ²⁴Farwell, Jane. "Folk Camp," in *Recreation*, 40, (January 1947), p. 563.

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POPULAR MUSIC AND SOCIETY, V:5 (1977) includes several articles of interest. "Solo Female Vocalists: Some Shifts in Stature and Alterations in Song" (pp. 1-16), by Peter Hesbacher et al., is a survey of all pop songs recorded by female vocalists to reach #1 on trade charts in the period 1944-74. Statistical analysis of song and artist types reveals little difference between female and male solo vocalists, though the authors do reach the interesting conclusion that "female artist ascendancy occurs in times of industry stability."

"The Impact of Reggae in the United States" by Kenneth Bilby (17-22) argues that after an initial rise and then decline in popularity, reggae music of Jamaica is "on the verge of a significant breakthrough in America and elsewhere."

"Social Class and Cultural Communication: An Analysis of Song Lyrics" by George H. Lewis (23-26) attempts to categorize rock and roll (1956-75) and country-western (1966-75) as middle or lower class in terms of the lyric content. The author concludes that both genres show a movement from lower to middle class values over the years; however, the typography of the Table with the data is so butchered that it is impossible for the reader to deduce anything.

"'Hey, Hey Woody Guthrie I Wrote You a Song' The Political Side of Bob Dylan" by R. S. Dennisssoff and D. Fandray (31-42) discusses Dylan's political songs, his turn away from such material, and responses to the bootleg albums of 1969. "Popular Music Before Ragtime, 1840-1890: Some Implications for the Study of American Culture" by Hughson Mooney (43-60) traces several phases in the 19th century that find echoes in the music since 1900. The 1840s and '50s were dominated by the rough and rowdy minstrel shows. The period of 1866-80 was characterized by more refined music, with a return to influence from the British Isles, and growth of musical entertainment shows suitable for upper middle class urban women with much leisure time. The 1890s saw a resurgence of rough styles of music and the "waning of the Irish as a most vibrant force in popular music." Newly immigrated Jews, "closer to the bite and melancholy of the streets," created a tougher music until they too mellowed, to be replaced at the lower edges of respectability by the blacks.

"Tom Dooley's Children" by Stephen N. Gottesman (61-78) offers an overview of the Folk Music Revival of 1958-65, following in the footsteps of previous discussions. "Nashville Rebels: Myth or Reality" by R. Serge Dennisssoff (79-88) discusses country music of the 1960s and the role of some of the "rebels."

"Country and Western Song Lyrics: Intensional and Extensional Orientations" by Jan Wanzenried and Robert H. Wood (89-92) summarizes the results of a statistical survey of #1 songs of 1955-75 that attempts to classify them on the basis of lyrics as extensional orientation (i. e., a realistic and rational view of the world) or intentional (the opposite). The results show a steady trend over the years from intentional to extensional orientation, with significant jumps in the periods 1965-66, 1969-70, and 1975.

"'I Feel a Change Comin' On': The Counter-Culture Image of the South in Southern Rock 'n' Roll" by Kenneth R. Hey (93-99) concludes that "southern rock 'n' roll has musically and lyrically combined two separate traditions of southern culture with contemporary pop culture and created a bi-racial music which projects a counter-culture image of the post-modern South and which contradicts the traditional images of the plantation South, the folk culture South, the poor South, and the problematic South."

BOOK REVIEWS

EARLY DOWNHOME BLUES: A MUSICAL AND CULTURAL ANALYSIS, by Jeff Todd Titon (Urbana, Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press, 1977) 296 pp., illustrations, photographs, sound sheet, index; \$16.95.

Not since Paul Oliver's concise overview, *The Story of the Blues*, has such an important book about blues been published. *Early Downhome Blues* is based on Titon's doctoral dissertation and it brings perspectives to blues scholarship which are badly needed--intelligent interpretation and critical analysis. Too much of the published material dealing with blues is strong on history and biography, two admittedly important factors, but weak on almost all other counts. Titon knows the history of the blues well, but his book goes far beyond a mere statement of facts and into significant musicological, sociological and psychological interpretation and analysis.

Early Downhome Blues is organized into three parts that are further subdivided into chapters. The first part--"The Music in the Culture"--delves into the social, economic and historical background of southern rural blacks during the 1920s and 1930s. Titon handles this section in a convincing, factual manner with plenty of citations and examples to bolster and prove his points. He wisely integrates a section on the importance of religious music as a means of expression among southern blacks, a fact often passed over too lightly by blues enthusiasts, but significant nonetheless. Titon makes another important observation in this first part when he points out that many so-called "bluesmen," such as Charlie Patton and John Hurt, had varied repertoires that included religious songs, lyric songs, ballads and "pop" tunes. He rightly argues that many of these musicians should be called songsters and not "blues musicians."

Part Two-- "The Songs"--comprises just over half the entire book. It contains, among other things, the musical and textual transcriptions of forty-eight blues songs. I feel Titon has picked a fair cross-section of downhome blues and his transcriptions include some classics: "Me and My Gin" by Bessie Smith, "M and O Blues" by Willie Brown, "Biddle Street Blues" by Henry Spaulding and "Pony Blues" by Charlie Patton. This section is perhaps the most important as it offers a thorough and provocative musical analysis of downhome blues based on the forty-eight songs Titon transcribed. This is followed by a chapter arguing that blues lyrics are constructed through the use of formulas. The idea of formulaic structures in oral literature is derived from Albert Lord's *The Singer of Tales* and is successfully modified by Titon to fit the structure of blues lyrics.

The final part--"The Response"--details the efforts of commercial record companies to record and market this music during the 1920s and 1930s. Here Titon covers more familiar ground as he explains how companies such as OKeh, Paramount, and Columbia contacted musicians, how recording sessions were set up, how payment to musicians was made, etc. The most important section of Part III is Titon's attempt to analyze the record companies' advertisements by placing the advertisements within a cultural perspective. He does this by examining why the companies chose certain layouts for ads, how these ads played on then current racial stereotypes, and what motivated the companies to market "race records" in the ways they did.

I find very little to criticize in *Early Downhome Blues*. It might have benefited from more photographs and illustrations, but the ones Titon included are appropriate and reproduced well. There are a few factual exclusions such as on page 117 where I feel it would be helpful to note that "Its So Cold in China" by Isiah Nettles has been reissued both by Origin Jazz Library (OJL 8) and Yazoo (L-1038). These are, however, very minor quibbles and, in a work so lengthy and important, insignificant. *Early Downhome Blues* is an extremely valuable and essential book in the field of blues scholarship. It must be examined by all serious students of blues and its departure from the standard historical format should stimulate other scholars to move in different directions.

-- Kip Lornell
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TENNESSEE STRINGS: THE STORY OF COUNTRY MUSIC IN TENNESSEE, by Charles K. Wolfe (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1977). x + 118 pp., illus., index; paper covers; \$3.50.

This modest volume is one in a series of general-interest books about significant Tennessee topics sponsored jointly by the Tennessee Historical Commission and the University of Tennessee Press. Its author should be well known to *JEMFQ* readers; Wolfe has published voluminously and with distinction on various aspects of country music history. Although he purports to deal with country music in Tennessee, and is in fact careful to draw on Tennessee musicians and music for his examples wherever possible, Wolfe manages to cover enough ground to make the book of general interest to the reader with no particular background in folk and country music history. I should also note, though, that this is not simply an abridgement and condensation of previously published words; sufficient new data and insights are offered to retain the interest of the knowledgeable reader as well.

In view, then, of the book's purpose, it should not be taken as a criticism to note that the author moves along predictable paths. An introductory chapter on "The Folk Background" pivots around a description of the collecting activities of Cecil Sharp in the Appalachian highlands, noting the Anglo-Irish backgrounds of the music, and surveying the state of Anglo-American folk music--both secular and sacred--around the turn of the century. Discussed in considerable detail is Robert Taylor, the fiddling governor of Tennessee in 1887-91 and 1897-99. Wolfe utilizes the opportunity to discuss attitudes of the day towards fiddling and fiddlers--and also to introduce Fiddlin' John Carson and establish a bridge to his second chapter, "Out of the Hills: The First Professionals." Here are gathered the few available facts to offer sketches of Am Stuart, George Reneau, and Charlie Oaks (also discussed in the previous chapter); and, since more facts are available, a fuller portrait of Uncle Dave Macon. Several other names are introduced in a brief survey of the country music associated with several geographic regions: the Johnson City-Bristol area, the Knoxville area, the Chattanooga environs, Central Middle Tennessee, and the Memphis-dominated West Tennessee area.

Chapter Three is titled "George Hay and the Grand Ole Opry," a subject that Wolfe has explored in greater depth in his recent book, *The Grand Ole Opry: The Early Years, 1925-30*. The fourth chapter, "Honky-Tonk, Tuxedos, and Bluegrass," surveys the development of country music from the end of the 1930s to the end of the 1940s, focusing on Roy Acuff, Ernest Tubb (some non-Tennesseans are necessary to the continuity), Carl Smith, Hank Williams, Eddie Arnold, Ernie Ford, Bill Monroe, and Chet Atkins. The concluding pages deal with bluegrass music in its formative years and the role of East Tennessee radio stations and early independent record companies, such as Rich-R-Tone, of Johnson City. The final chapter, "Nashville Skyline," outlines the steady ascendancy of Nashville to the role of key center of country music that it occupies today.

Setting aside the real *raison d'être* of the book, Wolfe offers another rationale for a study of country music in Tennessee: namely, that "...country music thrives on constant communication between its audience and its performers, and between popular and traditional folk cultures. One cannot pretend to understand the music without understanding the social context that produced it and maintained it. And this context seems most easily and obviously defined in terms of geography" (p. vii). And yet, if the book does have any minor shortcomings, I would say they lie in the failure to carry through this implied promise to examine the social context that produced and maintained the idiom. Is the role of geography to be understood in its simplest sense of contiguous regions enclosed by the state boundaries, or is it geography in a subtler sense of urban center richly nourished by rural environs? Since, after all, modern country music is a development of modern technology, a fairly sophisticated urban center is essential; but since the music has always depended on folk elements, the rural contributions are equally necessary. But still--why Nashville and not Atlanta, or Memphis, or Wheeling? I'm not sure there is a cogent answer to this conundrum--other than the simple observation that Nashville did have the edge with its Grand Ole Opry, coupled with the surmise that country music, for many years, was too infantile to support two co-equal centers of power. Other writers have commented on the hostility of Nashville society to the rustic billies who were the mainstays of early country music; the Opry itself for many years was less than wholly welcomed. It is generally noted that Nashville's citizens became considerably more hospitable to country music when its dollar-drawing became evident. I can't help but compare this set of facts, though, with the observation oft-made that country music--since the 1940s, has gravitated away from the rural images and rural sources toward the pop music of the cities and the urbane images that accompany them. Country music's strongholds are in the larger southern and border cities--Cincinnati, Atlanta, Dallas, Baltimore, etc. In other words, perhaps a city that was more receptive to the country image than Nashville was would in fact have stifled the blossoming and modernization of the idiom? Sheer speculation on my part, and relevant only peripherally in this discussion of Wolfe's book. But they are, after all, questions that ultimately have to be addressed when the final analysis of Tennessee's role in the history of country music is written.

RECORD REVIEWS

I'M OLD BUT I'M AWFULLY TOUGH: TRADITIONAL MUSIC OF THE OZARK REGION (MFFA 1001; Missouri Friends of the Folk Arts, PO Box 307, New Haven, Missouri 63068). Two-lp set of field recordings made in southern Missouri and northern Arkansas in 1975-76. Selections: Lee Finis Cameron "Tip" McKinney: *I'm Old But I'm Awfully Tough*; *Gone to View That Land*; *Gipson Davy*; *Wandering Boy*; *Heaven Bells Ringing*; Emanuel Wood and Family: *Lighthouse*; *Story*; *Dixie Blossom*; *Walk Along Waltz*; *Spokane Waltz*; *Bear Creek Sally Goodin*; Green Berry Horton: *Rattlesnake and the Texas Pony*; *Story*; *Over the Woods and Through the Snow*; *Bunker Hill*; *Midnight Shuffle*; Troy Lee, Tex and Ray Offutt: *Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star*; *Fort Smith*; *Unnamed Schottische*; *Durang's Hornpipe*; *Whiskey Before Breakfast*; *Kentucky Waltz*; Jake Hockmeyer and Russ Orchard: *Dance Around Molly*; *Coming Down From Denver*; *Marmaducke's Hornpipe*; Lawrence Baker: *Death of the Old Sow*; *The Old Man Who Lived in the West*; Vesta Johnson and Don Womack: *She Ought to be a Lady*; *Story*; *Fat Meat and Dumplings*; Frank Reed and Alva Lee Hendren: *Middlegrove*; *Stoney Point*; *Massa Bill*; *Fox Chase*; Rose Pratt: *La Guignolee*; *Story*; Charlie Pashia and Joe Politte: *La Guignolee*; Charlie Pashia: *Rustic Dance*; *Father's Schottische*; Joe Politte: *Jenny Put the Kettle On*; *Story and Unnamed Tune*; *Molly Musk*; *Mule Stories*; *The Old Rock Road*; *Old Man Portell's Tune*; *Grand Picnic*. Includes jacket and 24-page brochure notes.

The traditional music of the Ozarks has been comparatively inaccessible until recent years. While Appalachian music was extensively collected during the first wave of commercial recording, that of the Ozarks was virtually neglected until the 1960s with the discs of such performers as Alameda Riddle and Ollie Gilbert. And yet the Ozark region has a rich musical heritage in its mixture of French, German and American culture which has produced a vital and distinctive music all its own.

The two album set *I'm Old But I'm Awfully Tough* is a collection of field recordings made in southern Missouri and in northern Arkansas over the period of 1975-76 by members of the Missouri Friends of Folk Arts.

The recordings were made by Julia and Jim Olin and Barry Bergey, who, together with Jane Bergey and Emily Goodson, prepared the booklet. The project was supported by grants from the National Endowment for the Arts and the Missouri Arts Council. Much of the music and all but one of the excellent traditional performers on these recordings have never been recorded before. ("Tip" McKinney was vocalist with Pope's Arkansas Mountaineers, a string band that recorded for Victor in 1928.) In this collection the instrumentalists (fiddle, banjo, mandolin, guitar and bass in various combinations), singers and storytellers share their tunes, songs and stories with an ease and good spirits rarely found on commercial field recordings. The collection is meticulously prepared and lovingly executed. The album jacket features nineteenth and early twentieth century descriptions of the Ozarks. The substantial booklet includes a map and a lengthy history of the region; photographs; biographical data for each performer; song title, length and key; information from the performers concerning the song or story; documentation of the piece's place in American lore; and transcriptions of the stories told and performers' comments on the songs. The recording is clean and of good quality and the selections chosen illustrate the styles and musical heritage of the individual performers.

The set's balance between vocal, instrumental and spoken selections is effective. In the instrumentals by Troy Lee, Rex and Ray Offutt there is a wide variety of idioms, demonstrating how the different ethnographic and chronological strata of a rich music area can merge in one player's repertoire. The juxtaposition of Rose Pratt's unaccompanied vocal and Charlie Pashia and Joe Politte's two fiddle renditions of "La Guignolee" makes an effective comparison. It also shows the persistence of the longer, more complex melodic lines of the French folk tradition in the Ozarks and points to one source for the stylistic lightness which Ozark music often shares with Cajun.

In such a satisfactory collection the flaws are few. A discussion of the major genres of Ozark traditional music and its style and indications of the normal performance situations and lengths of the selections would have been welcome. The editing of performers' comments on their songs could have been, on occasion, less awkward. But these are minor concerns in a collection which has gone a long way toward correcting the lack of good commercial recordings of Ozark traditional music.

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LAKE HOWARD (County 409). Reissue of 13 selections originally recorded for ARC in 1934-35 featuring Lake Howard vocal and guitar (with Roland Cauley on fiddle on underlined titles). Selections: *Little Annie, It's None of Your Business, New Chattanooga Mama, Grey Eagle, Lover's Farewell, Walking in the Light, I've Lost My Love, Forsaken Love, Streamlined Mama, Love Me Darling Love Me, Chewing Gum, Duplin County Blues, Within My Father's House*. Liner Notes by Ruth Howard Hughes.

Lake Howard (1913-1954) of Greensboro, North Carolina, was one of many country music performers of the 1930s who was heavily influenced by the Carter Family, both in repertoire and in instrumental style. What is interesting about his guitar style, however, is that it is every bit as driving, if not more so, than Maybelle Carter's. This album, the first reissues of Howard's music, includes 13 of the 20 sides of his that were issued in the mid-1930s. While the Carter influence is evident in such selections as "Lover's Farewell," "Forsaken Love," and "Within My Father's House" ("There'll be Joy, Joy, Joy"), Howard was adept at other styles as well: "New Chattanooga Mama" is a reworking of the Allen Brothers' number; "Streamlined Mama" is a white blues in the style of Jimmie Rodgers or Cliff Carlisle. Other titles are perhaps deceiving: "I've Lost My Love" is a variant of "Careless Love," and "Duplin County Blues" is an instrumental version of "I Don't Love Nobody," with lead fiddle by Roland Cauley. "Chewing Gum" is not the Carter Family favorite, nor Uncle Dave Macon's song on the same subject; possibly it is Howard's own composition.

The liner notes by Lake Howard's daughter add some information to that published in her article in *JEMFQ* #37 in 1975, when she was first becoming interested in tracing the history of her father's career.

MADDOX BROTHERS AND ROSE: 1946-1951. Vol. 1 and 2 (Arhoolie 5016/5017). 36 reissues by a popular west coast hillbilly stringband of the 1940s featuring the singing of Rose Maddox. Titles: (Vol. 1) *Midnight Train, Move It On Over, Careless Driver, Whoa Sailor, Milk Cow Blues, Mean and Wicked Boogie, Brown Eyes, Honky Tonkin', New Mule Skinner Blues, Time Nor Tide, Philadelphia Lawyer, George's Playhouse Boogie, Blue Eyes Crying in the Rain, Sally Let Your Bangs Hang Down, I've Stopped My Dreamin' About You, Gonna Lay My Burden Down, Water Baby Boogie*; (Vol. 2) *Oklahoma Sweetheart Sally Ann, I'm Sending Daffydills, Mule Train, It's Only Human Nature, Step It Up and Go, Dark as the Dungeon, (Pay Me) Alimony, Don't Bother to Cry, I Want to Live and Love, Shimmy Shakin' Daddy, I Wish I Was a Single Girl, South, Eight Thirty Blues, Your Love Light Never Shone, Texas Guitar Stomp, Detour #2, Hangover Blues, I'd Rather Have Jesus, I Still Write Your Name in the Sand*. Liner notes (continued from Vol. 1 to Vol. 2) by Keith Olesen.

It is easy (and not inaccurate) to characterize the zany antics and uninhibited clowning of the Maddox Brothers and Rose as the most colorful hillbilly band in America (as they were sometimes billed); yet the clowning is successful partly because it is shored up by an excellent group of musicians and, more importantly, one of the three or four finest female country singers ever to make records.

Rose Maddox, at the age of eleven, began her career with her five brothers, Cliff, Fred, Henry, Don, and Cal, on Modesto's radio station KTRB in 1937. They recorded for Four Star Records from 1946 to 1951 (the source of the recordings on these LPs), then for Columbia from 1951 to 1956, after which the group disbanded. Rose continued to perform with the surviving brothers (as one by one the others died or retired), recording for Capitol for several years, then, much more recently, for Briar. Though she lives on a ranch in southern Oregon, she continues to tour up and down the west coast periodically, frequently (especially during the late 1960s and early '70s, when her popularity was on the wane) at small, lesser known nightclubs and bars in the Sacramento Valley and Southern California. In recent years she has appeared with great success at folk festivals in Los Angeles and San Diego, and has won a devoted following among a younger generation of city-bred listeners.

It is interesting that these lively and exuberant Four Star recordings (possibly with the exception of her "Philadelphia Lawyer") were not nearly so successful as the comparatively bland string of hits on Capitol, ten of which appeared on Billboard's charts between 1959 and 1964 (one, "Sing a Little Song of Heartache," even hit position #3 in 1962--and who remembers that?) Nevertheless, the Four Star material did have a following among enthusiasts of older hillbilly musical styles off of the main track in the 1950s and '60s after the originals were no longer available; these were the source of three King LPs that were issued in that period. (King, by the way, and some of the other supermarket labels that reissued Rose's material, often added echo and even, it seems to me, additional instrumental tracks; a thorough discography of all of her recordings would be a significant accomplishment and a useful one. I have prevailed upon the elusive Keith Olesen to prepare an article and discography for *JEMFQ*, and if I could handcuff him to a desk for a few days we might be able to get it.)

It must be admitted, though, that the Four Stars, with all their technical deficiencies, did not flatter Rose's voice; nor, I dare say, was she as accomplished a singer then as she was in the 1960s; compare some of the tentative vocal efforts on, say, "Milk Cow Blues" or "New Mule Skinner Blues" (both, in general, excellent examples of Rose's ability to assimilate diverse styles of other singers) with the positive conviction in her voice on her magnificent bluegrass album, cut with Bill Monroe and others in 1962.

Rose's repertoire is immense; and she manages to keep her recordings active in her repertoire decades after the recordings. Her audiences will delight to see her accede to request after request for numbers that she has not sung in years--and that her young band of accompanists has probably never heard in their short lifetimes. Rose can move with facility from gospel to blues to hillbilly boogie to Bob Wills to Merle Travis to bluegrass to straight C&W to traditional southeastern folk songs (folklorists will be surprised by her "George Carter" -- not, unfortunately, on this reissue set), and these two albums demonstrate it.

Keith Olesen has spent some time talking with Rose about her career and has produced an admirable set of liner notes. A more extensive study, though, would not be out of place.

REFLECTIONS, by Jimmie Wakely (Shasta 527). 14 selections recorded between 1939 and 1964 featuring cowboy and western singer Jimmy Wakely, with others. Selections: *Happy Rovin' Cowboy*, *Cimarron*, *Tenting Tonight on the Old Camp Ground*, *I Wanta Ride That Gospel Train*, *Silver Trails*, *Try to Understand*, *I Wish I Had a Nickel*, *Let's Go to Church*, *Too Bad Little Girl Too Bad*, *Freight Train Blues*, *If I Had My Way*, *Lovesong of the Waterfall*, *Softly and Tenderly*, *Star of Hope*. Brief liner notes by Wakely.

Jimmy Wakely, one of the most popular of the singing cowboys in the B westerns in the 1940s, began his recording career with Scotty Harrel and Johnny Bond in 1939; the 2nd and 4th selections on this album feature that group. (These were radio transcription recordings, not commercial releases.) In addition, and subsequent, to the films, there were Opry appearances, local radio, and television. Twenty years ago, Wakely started his own record company (Shasta Records: Box 2262, No. Hollywood, CA 91602) and has issued a number of albums of great historical interest.

This album is an unusual cross-media sampling of Wakely's long career in the entertainment field. "Cimarron" and "Gospel Train" by the Wakely Trio are studio transcriptions from 1939; "Silver Trails," "Tenting Tonight," and "Too Bad" are from movie sound tracks; "Try to Understand" and "Wish I Had a Nickel" are Grand Ole Opry recordings of 1948-49, the latter a duet with Red Foley. "Too Bad Little Girl" is from Wakely's first feature film (i.e., first in which he starred; he had earlier appeared in Gene Autry and Hopalong Cassidy films as well); the last four numbers feature Wakely and members of his family on their CBS radio show in 1956-64. "Let's Go to Church," introduced by Jo Stafford, was sung on her radio show in 1951.

In spite of the variety of sources for this material, the standards, technical as well as musical, are uniformly high. The cuts by the Wakely Trio in particular are delightful--with some lively hot fiddle breaks and solid guitar backup throughout.

GREATEST HITS, by Tex Ritter (Shasta LP 520). 11 selections by Ritter recorded in the early 1960s (with additional instrument tracks in 1975). Titles: *Boll Weevil*, *Green Grow the Lilacs*, *Conversation With a Gun*, *The Fool's Paradise*, *High Noon*, *Froggy Went A Courtin'*, *Have I Stayed Away Too Long*, *Ceilito Lindo*, *The Keeper of the Keys*, *The Gallows Pole*, *Hillbilly Heaven*. Brief liner notes by Jimmy Wakely.

If I may be permitted a minor quibble, this album is not exactly a parade of Ritter's greatest hits, inasmuch as it lacks "Rye Whiskey," "Blood on the Saddle," "Goodbye Old Paint," "Daddy's Last Letter," and a few others; but it does include several of Tex's finest moments on records (not, of course, the original recordings). It should be added that records were never Ritter's principal medium; that distinction fell to films. It is, in fact, puzzling that his recordings were not more successful than they were; Ritter was indeed a strikingly distinctive song stylist, and his renditions of some of the old cowboy classics (and traditional folksongs) are remarkable ("Boll Weevil" on this LP is a good example). His recitations, such as of Johnny Bond's composition, "Conversation With a Gun," are also fine.

Reprints 17-25, available bound as a set only, are \$2.00. All other reprints are \$1.00.

4. "Hillbilly Music: Source and Symbol," by Archie Green. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 78 (1965).
6. "An Introduction to Bluegrass," by L. Mayne Smith. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 78 (1965).
9. "Hillbilly Records and Tune Transcriptions," by Judith McCulloh. From *Western Folklore*, 26 (1967).
10. "Some Child Ballads on Hillbilly Records," by Judith McCulloh. From *Folklore and Society: Essays in Honor of Benj. A. Botkin* (Hatboro, Pa., Folklore Associates 1966).
11. "From Sound to Style: The Emergence of Bluegrass," by Neil V. Rosenberg. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 80 (1967).
12. "The Technique of Variation in an American Fiddle Tune," by Linda C. Burman (Hall). From *Ethnomusicology*, 12 (1968).
13. "Great Grandma," by John I. White. From *Western Folklore*, 27 (1968), and "A Ballad in Search of It's Author," by John I. White. From *Western American Literature*, 2 (1967).
14. "Negro Music: Urban Renewal," by John F. Szwed. From *Our Living Traditions: An Introduction to American Folklore* (New York, Basic Books 1968).
15. "Railroad Folksongs on Record--A Survey," by Norm Cohen. From *New York Folklore Quarterly*, 26 (1970).
16. "Country-Western Music and the Urban Hillbilly," by D. K. Wilgus. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 83 (1970).
- 17-25. Under the title "Commercially Disseminated Folk Music: Sources and Background," issue of *Western Folklore*, 26 (1967), Eugene Earle, Norm Cohen, Archie Green, Joseph H. Jackson, Guthrie T. Meade, Jr., and Bill Malone. Available bound as a set only.
26. "Hear Those Beautiful Sacred Tunes," by Archie Green. From *1970 Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council*.
27. "Some Problems with Musical Public-domain Materials under United States Copyright Law as Illustrated Mainly by the Recent Folk-Song Revival," by O. Wayne Coon. From *Copyright Law Symposium (Number Nineteen)* (New York, Columbia University Press 1971).
28. "The Repertory and Style of a Country Singer: Johnny Cash," by Frederick E. Danker. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 85 (1972).
29. "Country Music: Ballad of the Silent Majority," by Paul DiMaggio, Richard A. Peterson, and Jack Esco, Jr. From *The Sounds of Social Change* (Chicago, Rand McNally & Co. 1972).
30. "Robert W. Gordon and the Second Wreck of 'Old 97'," by Norm Cohen. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 87 (1974).
31. "Keep on the Sunny Side of Life: Pattern and Religious Expression in Bluegrass Gospel Music," by Howard Wight Marshall. From *New York Folklore Quarterly*, 30 (1974).
32. "Southern American Folk Fiddle Styles," by Linda Burman-Hall. From *Ethnomusicology*, 19 (1975).
33. "The Folk Banjo: A Documentary History," by Dena J. Epstein. From *Ethnomusicology*, 19 (1975).
34. "Single-Industry Firm to Conglomerate Synergistics: Alternative Strategies for Selling Insurance and Country Music," a study of the impact of National Life and Accident Insurance Co. on the Grand Ole Opry, by Richard A. Peterson. From *Growing Metropolis: Aspects of Development in Nashville* (Vanderbilt University Press, 1975).

JEMF SPECIAL SERIES

2. *Johnny Cash Discography and Recording History (1955-1968)*, by John L. Smith. \$2.00.
3. *Uncle Dave Macon: A Bio-Discography*, by Ralph Rinzler and Norm Cohen. \$2.00.
4. *From Blues to Pop: The Autobiography of Leonard "Baby Doo" Caston*, edited by Jeff Titon. \$1.50.
5. *'Hear My Song': The Story of the Sons of the Pioneers*, by Ken Griffis. \$6.25.
6. *Gennett Records of Old Time Tunes*, A Catalog Reprint. \$2.00.
7. *Molly O'Day, Lynn Davis, and the Cumberland Mountain Folks: A Bio-Discography*, by Ivan M. Tribe and John W. Morris. \$3.50.
8. *Reflections: The Autobiography of Johnny Bond*. \$4.00.
9. *Fiddlin' Sid's Memoirs: The Autobiography of Sidney J. Harkreader*, edited by Walter D. Haden. \$4.00.

JEMF LP RECORDS (All LPs are \$6.25; price includes accompanying booklet)

- LP 101: *The Carter Family on Border Radio*. ET recordings not previously available for sale.
- LP 102: *The Sons of the Pioneers*. ET recordings not previously available for sale.
- LP 103: *Paramount Old Time Tunes*. A Sampler from the Paramount label of the 1920s and '30s.
- LP 104: *Presenting the Blue Sky Boys*. Reissue of 1965 Capitol LP.

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Members of the Friends of the JEMF receive the *JEMF Quarterly* as part of their \$10.00 (or more) annual membership dues. Individual subscriptions are \$10.00 per year for the current year; Library subscription rates for 1978 are \$10.00. All foreign subscribers should add an extra \$1.00 postage for surface delivery; air mail to Europe and South America is an extra \$6.50; to Asia, Africa, and Australia, \$8.50 annually. Most back issues of Volumes 6-13 (Numbers 17 through 48) are available at \$2.50 per copy; write for current list. (Xerographic and microform copies of *JEMFQ* are available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.)

The *JEMF Quarterly* is edited by Norm Cohen. Manuscripts that fall within the area of the JEMF's activities and goals (described on inside front cover) are invited, but should be accompanied by that linguistic barbarism but editorial necessity, the self-addressed stamped return envelope. All manuscripts, books and records for review, and other communications should be addressed to: Editor, *JEMFQ*, John Edwards Memorial Foundation, at the Folklore & Mythology Center, University of California, Los Angeles CA, 90024.

JEMF QUARTERLY

JOHN EDWARDS MEMORIAL FOUNDATION



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THE JEMF

The John Edwards Memorial Foundation is an archive and research center located in the Folklore and Mythology Center of the University of California at Los Angeles. It is chartered as an educational non-profit corporation, supported by gifts and contributions.

The purpose of the JEMF is to further the serious study and public recognition of those forms of American folk music disseminated by commercial media such as print, sound recordings, films, radio and television. These forms include the music referred to as *cowboy, western, country & western, old time, hillbilly, bluegrass, mountain, country, cajun, sacred, gospel, race, blues, rhythm and blues, soul, and folk rock.*

The Foundation works toward this goal by:

gathering and cataloguing phonograph records, sheet music, song books, photographs, biographical and discographical information, and scholarly works, as well as related artifacts;

compiling, publishing and distributing bibliographical, biographical, discographical, and historical data;

reprinting, with permission, pertinent articles originally appearing in books and journals;

and reissuing historically significant out-of-print sound recordings.

The *Friends of the JEMF* was organized as a voluntary non-profit association to enable individuals to support the Foundation's work. Gifts and contributions to the JEMF qualify as tax deductions.

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LETTERS

Sir:

Greatly enjoyed Ken Griffis' piece on ol' Stu Hamblen in the current JEMFO (#49), as I listened to him for many years on KMTR and KFWB back in the days of the great LA gangs like the Sons of the Pioneers and the Happie Chappies. Stu hasn't a great singing voice, but as you correctly note he has a way with the heartstrings. It's interesting to note in the discography that Stu has never recorded (apparently) some of my favorites from his old shows: "Marie," "Waiting for Ships that Never Come In," and "Lonesome Road."

Interesting to compare the 1930 photo of the Original Beverly Hillbillies (with Hamblen as a member) with my photo of the BH just a few years later after the split caused Glen (Highpockets) Rice to go one way and Gus Mack another, with rival groups under the same name at the same hour on KMPC and KFAC weeknights. Henry Blaeholder (known first as Hank and later as Skillet) went with Mack. So did Cyprian Paulette (known on the show as Ezra Longneck-

er) and Aleth (Lem) Hanson and guitarist Jad Dees. By the time my photo [see below] was taken the group had picked up the fabulous yodeler ("Chime Bells Are Ringing") Elton Britt and the equally fabulous Mirandy, who just died in Santa Barbara about three years ago--a sweet and gentle lady. I'm not certain whether Mirandy and Marjorie Bauersfeld were one and the same, but I suspect they were.

Stuart had split by that time to form his own show and Leo (Zeke) Manners, whose son committed suicide not too many years ago in New York, stayed with Rice. I do not recall that he was ever called Mr. Tallfeller, as the caption under your photo suggests, but always Mr. Highpockets.

I am enclosing my photo of the Beverly Hillbillies in case you should want to run it in the Quarterly with this letter for some of the old BH fans. Please do see that it is returned to me safely; I treasure it and my early Sons of the Pioneers photo taken about the same year. It is the same one you carried in Hear My Song, with

(Continued on p. 143)



I REMEMBER JOHNNY BOND

By Ken Griffis

"Kenneth, come in this house"! This was the usual warm greeting that awaited me on my visits to the comfortable Burbank home of Dorothy and Johnny Bond. These visits were always enjoyable since John was a gracious host, a gentle person. As I reflect back, I regret that these visits were not more frequent. Too many questions go unanswered. I thought he would be with us for years to come.

Probably most readers of JEMFQ are familiar with the colorful career of Johnny Bond. For those not too well informed, and for his many fans and friends who may wish to renew acquaintance, let's turn back the clock to the mid-thirties in Oklahoma City where Cyrus Whitfield "Johnny" Bond made his first professional appearance. It is safe to surmise that Johnny was not an immediate success in his early years. Although he had great potential, John was not a person to impose, rather he was satisfied to stand in the background and let others take the bows. Fortunately he soon met a talented artist, Jimmy Wakely, who had enough drive for both of them. With Scotty Harrel, they formed a successful trio and remained in Oklahoma City long enough to establish themselves as quality performers. In 1940 they left the mid-west and descended on the Hollywood scene, only to find ample talent standing around waiting to be discovered. With a change in name to the Jimmy Wakely Trio, the fellows found work at one or another of the country-western music locations that dotted the Los Angeles area. Fortunately, they were soon invited to be a part of the Gene Autry organization, which proved to be the springboard to other endeavors. Due credit should be given to Gene Autry for his unselfish help to so many struggling performers in those early years; Gene gave a good deal more than he received. It was on the Autry radio show that Johnny demonstrated his superb ability to play guitar. It was he, not Autry, who played the artistic guitar intro to the show's theme song, "Back In the Saddle Again." John's long, sensitive fingers could coax an unusual amount of feeling out of the guitar.

I feel one measure of a person, performer or not, is the ability to laugh at oneself, or relate stories that may not be too flattering. John readily related how he was presented with the opportunity to record under his own name. He met the head A&R man from Columbia, Uncle Art Satherley, while appearing on some of the Autry

recording sessions. John asked Uncle Art if he would consider recording him, to which Art replied, "I'll listen to you sometime." Not long after that John approached Uncle Art again, who replied, "Oh yes, I did promise to record you, didn't I?" John did not correct him, and was with Columbia from 1941 to 1957. When his first record appeared in the stores, John told how he asked the clerk at the counter for his record. As she pulled it out, she asked, "Are you sure you want this record?"

A mark of success must be how you are measured by your fellow performers. Johnny was very well liked by his peers, and everyone I have talked with considered him a professional in every sense of the word. Joe Maphis, a close personal friend, relates that Johnny was an exceptional individual with a sense of humor that made him a joy to be around. "You could always depend on Bond," Joe stated. "If he told you he would do something, or be somewhere at a particular time, you could set your watch by it."

Another close friend and admirer is the multi-talented Merle Travis. In recent contacts with Merle, he fondly recalled his long association with "Ol' Bond." Merle told of the many enjoyable hours they had spent over the years. "Johnny had a razor-sharp sense of humor," Merle related. "Once I was spouting off about how today's young entertainer could make one hit record and become a star. Johnny, like all of us, had come up the hard way--radio stations, personal appearances, long hours of driving, losing lots of sleep before he amounted to anything. Johnny let me rave awhile, then in his clipped way of speaking said, 'Travis, we can do something they can't.' 'What's that,' I asked. 'Reminisce', Bond quipped without changing his expression."

Merle continued with another anecdote about a conversation in which he was expressing his feelings about people who call up and talk for an hour about everything under the sun before they come to the point of the call--they want Travis to appear on a recording session. "Why don't they just say it at first and get off the phone," Merle fumed at John. John just looked at him and shook his head a little. A few days later the phone rang and Travis recognized the friendly voice of Johnny Bond who



said, "Travis, let's go to work," and hung up. The next day he saw John and asked what the call was all about. "Well," John replied, "I'm doing a recording session next week and wanted you to play the guitar." "Was I brief enough?"

This writer too had the pleasure on many occasions of seeing the Bond humor and talent at work. In late June of 1976, I received a call from John, asking if I would care to join him on a trip to Kerrville, Texas, where he was to be part of a big Fourth of July show. After we settled in at the motel, we proceeded to the large outdoor location, allowing ample time for John to be ready for his scheduled appearance. Not too surprisingly the show was running about two hours behind schedule. They informed John of the delay and asked if he would mind waiting around. In his dry manner John said, "Not at all. My plane doesn't leave until tomorrow afternoon." He turned to me and remarked, "Kenneth, you see this is the way it's done in the big time. They want to hold back my act just to build up the crowd anticipation. Besides, who else do they have except The Texas Playboys, Hank Thompson, and the like." I knew Johnny was not too pleased with the delay, but he wasn't one to make a scene. When he did go on, it was quality performance as usual, and the crowd loved him.

In addition to being a crowd pleasing performer, Johnny was a composer of considerable note. His best known composition, "Cimarron," has become a western classic. During his sixteen years on the Columbia label, and in the long years that followed, John recorded many of his songs that have become an important part of the country-western tradition--"I Wonder Where You Are Tonight," "I'll Step Aside," "Tomorrow Never Comes," "Your Old Love Letters," "Jim, Johnny and Jonas," "Glad Rags," "Cherokee Waltz," and "Ten Years." Although Johnny was not considered a part of the Nashville scene, he gave a good deal of his time and effort to the Country Music Association, serving on their Boards. He also was very supportive of the John Edwards Memorial

Foundation, always willing to help whenever asked. He was a most unselfish individual.

In his last years, Johnny's interests turned to the problems of documenting country music history. In addition to writing his own autobiography, published by the JEMF, he wrote a warm biography of his late friend and close associate, Tex Ritter. A biography of another associate of his, Gene Autry, languished in manuscript form for several years because Autry did not like the way Johnny stuck to some of the less flattering facts. Johnny was still negotiating with publishers at the time of his death. His annotated discography of the recordings of Jimmie Rodgers, published by the JEMF last year, was the result of a musician's curiosity over the many discrepancies in the various compiled discographies of Rodgers recordings. And finally, for the last few years, Johnny and I had been working on a history of country music in the Southern California area. In view of these projects, Johnny must be regarded as a unique individual in the music business, turning from performing and composing to serious historical documentation. His role as a historian, as his Rodgers discography most clearly shows, is from the perspective of a musician intimately and personally involved with the industry and the music itself. His vantage point was a valuable one, and those of us interested in documenting country music history can only regret deeply that he could not finish the projects he was working on.

Succumbing to the lingering effects of a heart attack, Johnny Bond passed away on June 12 of this year, survived by his wife of thirty nine years and his three daughters, Sherry, Jeannie, and Susan.

Performer, songwriter, humorist, historian, gentleman, and friend, Johnny Bond will be sorely missed.

-- North Hollywood, Cal.

PUBLICATIONS BY JOHNNY BOND

We wish to remind readers that two booklets written by Johnny Bond are available from the JEMF. The first of these is Reflections: The Autobiography of Johnny Bond, JEMF Special Series No. 8 (1976). This 98-page publication includes, in addition to Bond's autobiography, a Bond discography; 19 pages of excerpts from Bond's scrapbooks, including newspaper clippings, photographs, and ads; a list of movies in which he appeared; a list of his compositions recorded by other artists; and two radio scripts: a Town Hall Party script from 1954 and a Hollywood Barn Dance script from 1944. The price of the book is presently \$4.00 but is expected to increase next year.

Bond's more recent study is The Recordings of Jimmie Rodgers, an annotated discography, JEMF Special Series No. 11 (1978). This 76-page booklet, available from JEMF for \$4.00, is reviewed in detail in the Book Reviews section of this issue of the Quarterly.

WILL ROY HEARNE

In the last issue of *JEMFQ*, we reported that JEMF's long-time advisor and friend, the noted discographer, Will Roy Hearne, had donated to the JEMF the bulk of his extensive files of discographic data, painstakingly collected over a period of some fifty years. At the time it seemed in poor taste to note that Hearne, sensing that his long and busy career as record collector, dealer, and discographer, was coming to an end, was beginning to set his house in order in his final days. But such indeed was the case, and on 31 July, at the age of 84, Will Roy Hearne passed away. Since that last *JEMFQ* notice, Hearne had disposed of the other materials of his career: his record catalogs were donated to the Library of Congress, the phonograph records themselves sold to collector Robert Alt-schuler, and his other research materials--file cards, notebooks, magazines, and discographic compilations, donated to the JEMF.

Will Roy Hearne was the only discographer whose career was formally acknowledged in a folklore journal when Ed Kahn wrote an article about him for *Western Folklore* [23:3 (July 1964), pp. 173-179], an article that was given further dissemination as *JEMF* Reprint No. 2. Since that issue of *Western Folklore* and the *JEMF* Reprint have both long been out of print, it seemed an appropriate tribute to our good friend of many years to reproduce the article about him in these pages.

Ed Kahn's article properly noted the role of this "peripheral scholar" to folk music studies as part of the more general argument of the value of discography to scholarly pursuits. It is difficult to appreciate the intended impact of Kahn's thesis without recalling the state of vernacular music scholarship at the time of his writing. Then, there were no serious journals devoted to the subject; the American Folklore Society had not yet begun to include regular symposia on such topics; and the landmark Hillbilly Music issue of *JAF* had not yet appeared. Kahn's message to the academic establishment was that there were more individuals contributing to scholarship than those within its ranks. What his study failed to convey to the reader was the warmth and humor of that white-haired gentleman, who would regale the willing listener for hours with his storehouse of tales of strange and amusing adventures in search of records and discographic data. All of those who knew him will miss him.

WILL ROY HEARNE: PERIPHERAL FOLKLORE SCHOLAR

IN THE YEARS TO COME the folk song scholar will become increasingly aware of the tremendous debt which he owes to a host of nonacademic workers who have been delving into areas peripheral to the study of folk song, but making contributions which are ground work for the future study of American folk music as it relates to, is affected by, and is preserved on the commercial phonograph record.¹

As the folklorist directs his attention to the records made between 1920 and the present,² he will realize that this body of material may well contain the single richest collection of American folk music that we have. Thousands of records issued in the early days of the industry were collected in ways similar to those of the academic folklorist today,³ the main difference being that the recording companies were unconcerned with the background or "authenticity" of the folk material. Offsetting this lack of concern, however, is the fact that the companies' talent scouts were able to record the best of the tradition by performers in their prime, using the best available equipment. It will be up to the academic folklorist to gather the data that the talent scouts overlooked. It is to these and other vital problems that the devoted enthusiasts have been directing themselves.

Beside these obvious problems that arise when one examines the commercially recorded documents of the twenties and thirties there is one central problem that outweighs all others: the sheer volume of material. Before we can correctly assess the worth of these records, we must be able to say pre-

* This paper is a revised form of a paper originally read at the eleventh annual meeting of the California Folklore Society at Long Beach State College on March 18-20, 1963. I wish here to express my thanks to Archie Green and D. K. Wilgus, both of whom read this paper and offered valuable criticism at various stages of its development. I assume sole responsibility for errors or omissions.

cisely what has been recorded and by whom. It is this problem to which Roy Hearn has directed himself.

Born in Greenwood, Louisiana, near the Louisiana-Texas border, on March 3, 1894, Hearne became exposed as a child to what he calls "plantation music." In 1910 he moved to Arizona and became a printer and linotype operator. While there, he recalls, he helped with the printing of the state constitution in 1911, just before Arizona was admitted to the Union. The next year, however, he moved to California and continued working in the trade that he knew. Failing eyesight eventually led to virtual blindness in 1926 and forced him to give up active work.

It was during Hearne's first years in blindness that his fascination with phonograph records began. His initial interest was in the records that he associated with the days when his wife, Betty, and he went to the dances and theatres. Soon after, however, he became deeply interested in the Negro artists whose music reminded him so much of his early days in Louisiana and Texas. By 1934 he had become a serious collector of this type of music and recalls that during these blind years he wandered from house to house trying to buy the records that interested him. By 1940 he felt that he "knew something about the race artists." And it wasn't long until he realized that he knew as much about these records as the people who were writing articles on the subject.

By 1942, through the aid of operations and glasses, he was able to see well enough fully to pursue his interest in records. But by the time he had regained his sight, after nearly twenty years of blindness, he wasn't interested in engaging in any career that would take him away from his records. After regaining his sight, then, he determined to continue working with the discs that had provided so much enjoyment for him, and he decided to devote himself fully to his hobby. He sold some of these rare records when he could find them and continued to fill out his own collection of records by artists that especially interested him.

By this time he had begun corresponding with people around the world, trying to learn more about these obscure Negro musicians. John Davis, an English collector, told Will Roy Hearne that if he wanted to be sure of obtaining all the records by any artist he would have to complete numerical files for all of the labels that could possibly contain records by the artist in question. Following this suggestion, Hearne began in a modest way to compile numerical listings of those labels that interested him. Basically, a *numerical* is a listing that indicates each record that is issued on the label, and arranges the entries in ascending numerical order, according to the release number assigned by the company. Next to each release number is placed the titles of the selections and the names of the artists, as indicated on the label of the record.⁴ The following is drawn from one of Hearne's publications and offers a brief example of a numerical:

OKeh 45000 Series Numerical

- 45001 Run Along Home With Lindy b/w To Welcome the Travelers Home by Fiddlin' John Carson
- 45002 I'll Go Where You Want Me To Go b/w I Choose Jesus by Jenkins Family
- 45003 Lisa Jane b/w The Story By The Moonlight by Henry Whitter
- 45004 She Doodle Dooded b/w K. C. Railroad by Bouchillon Trio/Walburn-Hetch-cox
- 45005 Drinker's Child b/w The Lone Child by Rosa Lee Carson
- 45006 Ida Red b/w Little Birdie by Land Norris
- 45007 A Dream Of Home b/w The Little Newsboy by Blind Andy
- 45008 (Missing)
- 45009 Blue Ridge Mountain Blues b/w All I've Gots's Gone by Ernest V. Stoneman
- 45010 American & Spanish Fandango b/w Royal Clog by Smith-Allgood/Helton
- 45011 Soldier's Joy b/w Hop Light Lady by Fiddlin' John Carson

—From *Disc Collector*, Vol. II, No. 3
(July, August, September, 1952)

Through these numerals, Hearne became interested in many other artists and kinds of music. His basic work with discography began in 1943, and his numerical files began in 1945. Up to that time there had been a few

attempts at limited numericals, but nothing in a general way had been done. Hearne was attempting to compile numericals for every label around the world that contained material recorded in the United States between the years of 1920 and 1942, when systematic files began to be commercially published. His files include partial or complete numericals for between sixty and seventy labels from around the world which contain any material from American masters, with the exception of classical recordings, with which Hearne has not concerned himself. A few of the foreign labels that have interested Hearne are The Twin, of India; Lucky, of Japan; Melotone, of Canada; Zonophone, of England; and Regal-Zonophone, of Australia.

In the early days Will Roy Hearne was interested only in the release numbers and the release dates of the recordings. Since that time, however, he has attempted to gather much more data about each recording. He now wants to know the master or matrix number of the record, composer credit, the date of the recording, and other information as it comes to hand. He says now: "I want to find out about every record, whether I'd be interested in it or not," and he wants to gather information "so that no matter what interest a person would have, he could go into my files and find out something about it."

Aside from indicating the vast amount of material extant on commercially recorded phonograph records, Hearne's files of over 150,000 three-by-five cards have uncovered many facts about these records that were not previously known, but that are of extreme importance to the folk song scholar working in this field. After completing a great many numericals, he found certain similarities between some of the series, thus leading him to an understanding of what he calls "parallels" and "continuities." Certain masters were issued on many labels. Thus, knowledge of a record issued on one of the many related labels in the "farm system" will give information about a number of other records made from the same master but appearing on different labels. For example, any release number in the Cameo label "O" prefix series will be matched on the Banner label "O" prefix series by adding a constant differential of four hundred. Less obvious is the relationship between the Perfect label's and Pathe label's vocal series, which were predominantly hillbilly material. The constant differential in this case is 19,921. The following chart indicates this Perfect-Pathe relationship:

Continuities

Perfect 12357 + 19,921 = Pathe 32278

Perfect 12358 + 19,921 = Pathe 32279

Perfect 12359 + 19,921 = Pathe 32280

This knowledge of parallel series can reveal much about the pseudonyms that artists used as well as the various titles that were given to the same master recording. For a simple example, let us examine a recording of the American ballad, "Bully of the Town" (Laws I 14) by the important golden-era hillbilly recording artist, Ernest V. Stoneman. He recorded this ballad for the American Record Company in April of 1927. The master or matrix number was 7225.

<i>Label and Release Number</i>	<i>“Bully of the Town” (Matrix number: 7225)</i>			<i>Artist as Given</i>
	<i>Title/Title</i>			
Banner 2157	Bully of the Bottle	the Town/Pass Around the		Ernest Stoneman
Challenge 665	Bully of the Bottle	the Town/Pass Around the		Ernest Stoneman
Cameo 8217	Bully of the Bottle	the Town/Pass Around the		Vernon Dalhart
Romeo 597	Bully of the Bottle	the Town/Pass Around the		Vernon Dalhart
Lincoln 2822	Bully of the Bottle	the Town/Pass Around the		Vernon Dalhart

Oriole 947	Bully of the Town/Sinful to Flirt	Sim Harris
Domino 3984	Bully of the Town/Fatal Wedding	Ernest Stoneman
Regal 8347	Bully of the Town/Fatal Wedding	Ernest Stoneman
Pathe 32279	Bully of the Town/Just a Melody	Stoneman/Dalhart
Supertone 32279	Bully of the Town/Just a Melody	Stoneman/Dalhart
Perfect 12358	Bully of the Town/Just a Melody	Stoneman/Dalhart

From the above chart one is able to see that on both the Banner and Challenge labels we are given the correct information that Ernest Stoneman was singing "Bully of the Town" and that "Pass Around the Bottle" was on the reverse side of the record. On the Cameo, Romeo, and Lincoln labels, however, we are told incorrectly that the artist is Vernon Dalhart. On the Oriole label several changes occur. The reverse side of the record has been changed to "Sinful to Flirt" and the artist's name has been incorrectly listed as Sim Harris. On Domino and Regal, the artist is once more listed as Stoneman; however, the reverse side on these labels becomes "Fatal Wedding." The Perfect, Pathe, and Supertone labels offer the most interesting changes. "Bully of the Town" is correctly listed as being sung by Ernest Stoneman. The other side of the record, however, is "Just A Melody" and is correctly listed as being sung by Vernon Dalhart. Thus, in this example, we see Vernon Dalhart's name used once incorrectly for Ernest Stoneman, and again correctly as the singer of "Just A Melody." We must remember that in all cases "Bully of the Town" has been made from the same master. The sides with which this song is coupled, of course, were made from a variety of recordings.

A slightly more complicated example is to be found in the Gentry Brothers' recording of the religious song "Where We Never Grow Old." This song was recorded for the American Record Company on June 16, 1927, and assigned the matrix number 7337.

"Where We Never Grow Old" (Matrix number: 7337)		
<i>Label and Release Number</i>	<i>Title/Title</i>	<i>Artist as Given</i>
Romeo 872	Where We Never Grow Old/Three Drowned Sisters	Dalhart, Robison and Hood
Oriole 1001	Where We Never Grow Old/You'll Never Miss Your Mother Till She's Gone	Halliday Brothers
Regal 8370	Where We Never Grow Old/A Picture From Life's Other Side	Smoky Mountain Twins
Banner 6041	Where We Never Grow Old/A Picture From Life's Other Side	Lonesome Pine Twins
Challenge 667	There's No Disappointment in Heaven/A Picture From Life's Other Side	Lonesome Pine Twins
Conqueror 7072	There's No Disappointment in Heaven/You'll Never Miss Your Mother Till She's Gone	Smoky Mountain Twins

The above chart shows us that in this case the same song went under two different titles, "Where We Never Grow Old," and "There's No Disappointment In Heaven." The artists' names used were Smoky Mountain Boys, Smoky Mountain Twins, Lonesome Pine Twins, Halliday Brothers, and Dalhart, Robison, and Hood. In no case were the artists' real names, the Gentry Brothers, used. On the Banner and Challenge labels we see the same artists indicated as singing two different songs. But in fact we know that these recordings were both made from the same master.

As the above examples make clear, one must be careful not to assume that a pseudonym will always refer to the same artist. In these examples we see Vernon Dalhart's name used for both the Gentry Brothers and for Ernest Stoneman. To add to the confusion, we must point out that Vernon Dalhart was the most famous of over thirty pseudonyms used by Marion Try Slaughter. Dalhart, as he is generally known, rose to national prominence in the mid-twenties singing such hits as "The Death of Floyd Collins" (Laws

G 22) and "The Wreck of the Old Ninety-Seven" (Laws G 2).⁵

These examples could be multiplied and expanded many times over, but they serve to indicate some of the basic problems and complexities of discography that are of great concern to the folklorist working with commercially recorded materials, but which are being dealt with by interested enthusiasts such as Will Roy Hearne.

Hearne works with the care of the finest bibliographer. Each recording is listed on a separate three-by-five card, and these are arranged in the numerical order in which they were released by the company. Each label within a "family" or "farm system" is assigned a different color slip so that similar numbers cannot be confused. But Hearne confesses that the related labels, Conqueror and Romeo, were assigned the same color before he knew of their kinship through the American Record Company. With the basic numerals completed for all but about a half dozen American labels, he estimates that it will take still another twenty-five years to complete his files. He is now making slips that will list the records alphabetically by artist and song title to facilitate research within his files. He hopefully looks forward to the day when his files can be completed and transferred onto IBM cards.

From his blind years, Will Roy Hearne gradually emerged first as an authority on race records, then as a compiler of numerals in the race and jazz fields, next as one of the most important dealers in the rare 78's and finally as one of the most respected authorities on the whole field of discography, regardless of the type of music or the label of special interest.

Though Hearne has admittedly devoted much more time to compiling his raw data than to publishing his findings, his bibliography, composed primarily of contributions offering numerical listings, is nevertheless extensive.⁶ As well as publishing his findings in the small periodicals, he has since 1944 been publishing his own directories of one sort or another. His first venture into the publishing field was his *Hollywood Premium Record Guide Popular Price List*. This guide was an indication of the value of long out-of-print 78 rpm records. The guide went through three editions. In 1953, Hearne published his *American Record Collector's Directory*. This was a listing of all of the collectors of the old records, showing the size and extent of their collections, their primary interests, and where they could be reached. In the subsequent editions of the directory, in 1955 and 1960, the scope became international.

Hearne's work in discography, whether published or still available only through his files, has inspired a whole generation of younger workers in this and related fields. His policy has always been to make his files available to any serious student who wants this information. Some who have utilized the files of Will Roy Hearne are Eugene W. Earle, the late John Edwards of Australia, Archie Green, Fred G. Hoeptner, Charles Seeger, and D. K. Wilgus.

While Will Roy Hearne is one individual whose work will become increasingly recognized in the years to come as basic ground work for the study of American folk music, the list of such people could be extended widely. It is up to the scholar not only to address these problems, but to recognize the importance of these "peripheral scholars."

⁵ See Charles Seeger, "Professionalism and Amateurism in the Study of Folk Music," *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. LXII (1949), 107-113. Reprinted in MacEdward Leach and Tristram P. Coffin, *The Critics and the Ballad* (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961), pp. 151-160.

⁶ This date has been chosen because it was in 1920 that the first recordings of traditional Negro music by Negro musicians were issued. See Samuel B. Charters, *The Country Blues* (New York: 1959), esp. pp. 43-56. Field recordings of white, or hillbilly, music began in 1923.

⁷ See D. K. Wilgus, *Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship Since 1898* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1959), pp. 232-234.

⁸ To date, the most elaborate example of a numerical is Dan Mahoney's *The Columbia 13/14000-D Series, A Numerical Listing* (Stanhope, New Jersey: 1961).

⁹ See Jim Walsh's long series of articles, "Favorite Pioneer Recording Artists: Vernon Dalhart," *Hobbies*, Vol. LXV, No. 3 (May, 1960); Vol. LXV, Nos. 3-10 (May-Dec., 1960).

¹⁰ Will Roy Hearne's publications have generally appeared in small ephemeral publications that seldom find their way into public and university libraries. Several of the publications to which he has frequently contributed are *Disc Collector*, *Country and Western Spotlight*, and *Playback*.

FOLK MUSIC AND THE PHONOGRAPH RECORD: A SYMPOSIUM

INTRODUCTION TO SECOND INSTALLMENT

By David Evans

The final three papers in this series* highlight the activities of record companies that have dealt with folk and ethnic music. Each company has had a different goal and perspective in pursuing its ends.

Charles Wolfe's study of the Columbia 15000-D series of the 1920s and early 1930s focuses on the activities of a large and successful company that decided to become involved in recording and distributing the music of a regional and ethnic (southern Anglo-American) folk group. Wolfe reconstructs the company's policies through a careful analysis of the evidence from the recordings themselves as well as from material in company files. The paper is part of a larger study by Wolfe, who is one of the foremost researchers of early recorded country music.

Kathleen Monahan's paper is concerned with Greyko Records, a company that originated within the Croatian-American community, continues to serve mainly this com-

munity, and is largely unknown to other Americans. Monahan's interest in non-English language material is part of a trend among many younger folklorists and ethnomusicologists to research seriously the traditions of the many ethnic groups that make up the pluralistic culture of this country.

Harry Oster's Folk-Lyric Record Company was very different from Columbia or Greyko in that it sought to document traditional musical expressions of Louisiana and elsewhere in the South and to aim its products at an audience of scholars and specialist collectors outside the community from which the music came. The Folk-Lyric releases were pioneering efforts in the documentation of folk music on long-playing annotated records and milestones in the American folk revival. Oster deserves a great deal of credit for his daring in producing records of what was at the time highly esoteric material and for discovering a number of very fine folk music performers.

* The first part of this series appeared in the previous issue of *JEMFO* (Summer 1978), and included the following papers: "Record Reviewing in Folklore Journals--1947-1975," by D. K. Wilgus; "Flyright Records: Aims and Objectives of a Small Documentary Concern," by Bruce Bastin; "What Should a Documentary Record Be?," by Keith Cunningham; "What's Involved in Making Documentary Records of Folk Music," by Chris Strachwitz; and "Field Recording With the Phonograph in Mind," by David Evans.

-- Memphis State University



COLUMBIA RECORDS AND OLD-TIME MUSIC

By Charles Wolfe

To what extent did the commercial record companies of the 1920s accurately document the traditional music of the rural South? And what effect did this documentation process have on the music and the musicians? These are the classic questions confronted by anyone seriously pondering the relationship between traditional music and commercial country music. One approach to the problem has been to compare the songs found on commercial recordings with those found in the standard folk song collections of the same general era.¹ Another might be to compare the list of songs recorded by Library of Congress researchers in the 1930s with a master list of those songs recorded by commercial companies.² But perhaps the most basic approach is to look more closely than we have before at the exact content of the commercial companies' recordings, at the kinds of material they released, and how well various types of material sold. This kind of overview of the commercial series would look not so much at the individual songs, or the individual artists--both of which have been the standard approaches in the past--but rather would look at a record series in a broader, more general vein: at the release patterns of song genres, at sales patterns of song genres, at distribution methods and promotional devices, at the image the commercial companies themselves had of the music. What is needed at this stage is hard statistics instead of romantic pictures of far-sighted recording pioneers wandering into the mountains with a carload of wax

discs and a love of the common people. The early recording business, after all, was a business; one cannot assess the effect of commercial recordings without understanding something about how the business worked.

Yet that is easier said than done. While key pioneer recording executives like Ralph Peer (Victor), Frank Walker (Columbia), Art Satherley (American Record Company), and A. C. Laibly (Paramount) have been interviewed about their careers, none of them was able to offer specific statistics about sales and marketing, perhaps because they were all more involved in finding and documenting talent rather than actually selling it. Company files, in many cases, no longer exist, or have become hopelessly lost as the independent record companies of the 1920s were sold, merged, and dissolved repeatedly throughout the years. Yet one can, by using just the phonograph records themselves, generate a surprising amount of usable statistical data: one can, for instance, generate profiles of what kinds of records were released, in what years, and by what kinds of artists. Surviving catalogues and advertisements can give us some idea of distribution and marketing strategies, and occasionally older performers come up with royalty statements, correspondence, and contracts.³ And in a few cases, we have even more data: such a case is Columbia Records, and such is the justification for this pilot (and highly preliminary) study.

Few readers of *JEMFO* need an elaborate introduction to Columbia records, or to its famed 1920s series, the 15000-D series, "Familiar Tunes--Old and New." Most of the old time records of the 1920s were released in various special numerical series designed to appeal to southern audiences and designed for marketing in the South. Columbia's 15000-D series was one of the most successful of these series. During its eight years of existence (1925-1932), it brought to the American people the music of the Skillet Lickers, Charlie Poole, Riley Puckett, Vernon Dalhart, and many other important early country performers. A fuller history of Columbia's corporate genealogy and its early entry into the country music field can be found in standard references by Godrich and Dixon⁴ and Green.⁵ For the purposes here, suffice it to say that Columbia was one of the first companies to record and market old time music--it began in early 1924, bare months after John Carson's famous first recording for Okeh--and it was the very first company to initiate a separate series for white southern music.

From its inception in early 1925 until its demise in November 1932, the Columbia 15000-D series produced 782 records; one release number was apparently never issued, thus making the actual total of records in the series 781. The first title in the series was Ernest Thompson's "Alexander's Ragtime Band"/"The Mississippi Dip", and the last record in the series was Bob Miller's "The Crash of the Akron" backed with the Columbia Band's rendition of "Anchors Aweigh" (15782-D). The Columbia 15000-D series contained more releases than any of the other major "old time" numerical series of the 1920s (Okeh, Paramount, Brunswick, Vocalion, Victor, and Gennett). Columbia's series accounted for about 20% of all the old time material issued prior to 1932. In addition, Columbia's technology was as good as or better than that of its competitors; the sound of its records was loud and clean, and the discs themselves were remarkably durable, able to survive numerous playings on the old lathe-like Victrolas and still sound decent. Unlike many other records produced in the 1920s, the Columbia records were laminated, using a sort of sandwich construction which helped hold the discs together even when they suffered substantial cracks. Finally, Columbia's distribution seems to have been wider than that of companies like Okeh, Vocalion, and Brunswick; Columbia 15000-D series records have been routinely found by record collectors not only over the South, but even into the Midwest and Far West. Columbia had pressing plants at Bridgeport, Connecticut, and Oakland, California, and both plants produced old-time material in the 15000-D series. Columbia and Victor were the only two companies to achieve anything resembling national distribution with the "old time" series--though it has to be noted that by far the largest percentage of the sales was in the South. All of these facts help justify using Columbia as a starting point for the study of how old-time music was produced and marketed.

In making this preliminary analysis of the Columbia 15000-D series I have drawn upon the music contained on the records themselves, the research done by numerous people who have interviewed former Columbia artists, and my own extensive interviewing of old-time artists associated with Columbia. But two important sets of data have really formed the basis for the study: the coupling notices of the releases from the Columbia files and the sales figures for the individual records in the series. A note is in order about the provenance of each.

The coupling notices were company file references which gave basic information about the origin of the record: they contained the exact title as it would appear on the record label, the artist reference as it appeared on the label, the name of the song's composer (if any) and a reference to the publishing company owning the song, the number of records initially pressed, and additional number of labels printed for possible future pressings, the date the record was released (not the date of recording), the date the record was first listed in the monthly catalog supplements, and the master numbers of the songs. As far as I can determine, these data were first gathered and codified by singer-disc jockey-scholar-teacher Bill Randle and were presented as

an appendix to his dissertation, "History of Radio Broadcasting and Its Social and Economic Effect on the Entertainment Industry 1920-1930" (Case Western Reserve University, 1966). Since then they have been widely circulated among collectors and students of the music. Randle has recently published a similar set of coupling notices for the Columbia 1-D popular series, with a fuller explanation of the notices and their significance.⁶

The sales figures for the issues in the Columbia 15000-D series were obtained by David Freeman, one of the country's leading authorities on, and collectors of, old-time music. These figures had been filed on a series of note cards in the New York offices of CBS, and in their original form represented month-by-month orders on each record in the series. Freeman reports that these figures appear to have been kept rather carefully from 1925 to about 1930; when the Depression knocked the bottom out of record sales, the cards were updated more carelessly, and in fact sales figures for many of the 1932 sides were apparently not even entered. Thus there is some doubt that the figures give a completely accurate picture of retail sales. To complicate matters more, Columbia apparently for a time had a no-returns policy on selling records to its wholesalers, which means that sales reflected in these figures could refer to wholesale sales that were not necessarily passed on to consumers. Nonetheless, these sales data are the only remotely reliable indicators of actual record popularity in the 1920s, and are vital to establishing an honest profile of the records' impact on Southern society. We are very grateful to Dave Freeman for making these sales figures available for this study.

These two sets of data, used in conjunction with the records themselves, allow us to study the Columbia series from two perspectives. First, we can see it as a collection of songs, preserving a variety of vocal and instrumental styles, of song texts and instrumental tunes. To a rather limited extent, the collection can be seen as an analogue to the written collections of folklorists like Brown, Cox, and Randolph. It can be seen, to an extent, as a passive reflector of southern culture. After all, most of the records in the series were made "in the field" somewhere in the South. Until recently, it was assumed that most old-time records were done in New York, with "field trips" being the exception rather than the rule. In 1925, the first year of the 15000-D series, this was certainly true. But all Columbia records after May 1925 were electrically recorded, and this new process made field recording much more feasible. In the fall of 1925 Columbia began to make regular lengthy trips to Atlanta and customarily recorded there twice a year through 1931. Other, though less important, trips were made to Johnson City, Tennessee; New Orleans, Dallas, and Memphis. After 1925 as many as 75% of the titles released in the 15000-D series were recorded in the South. Well over half the releases in the series were recorded in Atlanta (cf. below).

Unlike the folklorists' field recordings and collections of written texts, commercial phonograph records did not simply reflect passively their culture. These records almost all reentered the culture that produced them, sometimes in the tens of thousands, and almost certainly influenced the culture they were documenting. They were an active influence as well as passive reflector. Columbia's series pumped into the southern musical culture 11,000,000 records between 1925 and 1932; that is over 22,000,000 song or tune performances, and in most cases each record was listened to by several people. If the other old-time series did only half as well in sales in the South, probably as many as 65 million old-time song or tune performances flooded into the southern culture over this same seven year period. This is especially impressive when one realizes that the population of the South during this time was barely 30 million.

The Men Behind the Series

Before evaluating the 15000-D series as a collection of "texts," it is important to know something about the collectors and something of the principles under which the collecting

was done. The 15000-D series was the brainchild of A & R pioneer Frank Walker. Along with Ralph Peer and Polk Brockman, Walker was largely responsible for developing the commercial country music industry. Walker was interviewed in 1962, a few years before he died, by Mike Seeger, and the interview reveals a good deal about the man and his values.⁷ Walker came from a rural background in upstate New York and joined Columbia in 1921. He was apparently responsible for bringing Gid Tanner and Riley Puckett north to record in 1924, and by 1925, with the new electrical technology produced by Western Electric, he was one of the first to go into the field. Walker was genuinely sympathetic to the music he recorded and referred to the typical southern performer as a "poet;" he seemed to have a good grasp of what constituted traditional material, though he recognized the tendency for singers to change and adapt texts. Still, he recorded mainly what he thought would sell, and never really thought of himself as preserving culture. He had nascent standards of professionalism; he complained that many acts he recorded had limited repertoires of "eight or ten things," and recalled that when one found an artist who had an expandable repertoire, who could learn new material readily, "you hung on to him."

Walker worked closely with developing the 15000-D series during its first three years of existence and personally supervised most of the field work himself. But gradually, as the system settled down, he delegated responsibility to various assistants. One of the most important of these was Wilbur C. "Bill" Brown. Not much is known about Brown's background; he was apparently a native of Atlanta. He worked closely with Walker from his earliest field trips; he helped locate talent, he worked with the artists, helped choose repertoire, and helped loosen them up if necessary. A member of Jess Young's band told me: "Old Bill Brown, he was always there with that bottle, wanting you to take a little drink to relax you." Brown worked so closely with the Skillet Lickers that he was roped in on several of their skits and made at least a couple of tours with them. By 1930 Brown had left Columbia and was serving in a similar capacity for the Brunswick-Balke-Collender Company. His whereabouts today are unfortunately unknown, though as late as 1951 he was still working in Atlanta.

Two younger men became increasingly active in the series during the late 1920s: Dan Hornsby and Bob Miller. By 1929 this team had pretty much replaced Walker and Brown, with Miller taking Walker's supervisory role and Hornsby working closely with the artists. Miller, born in Memphis, eventually gained fame as a prolific song-writer, music publisher, and promoter; his songs included "Eleven Cent Cotton" and "Twenty-One Years." Under a variety of noms de plume he recorded many sides for the 15000-D series and later for other labels. Hornsby, for his part, was an Atlanta native who had solid training in pop music and sang in a rich baritone voice. He recorded numerous times with pop artists like Perry Bechtel, and occasionally sang on records by the Skillet Lickers and Jess Young's band. After Columbia closed its Atlanta office, Hornsby continued to work in Atlanta radio, doing commercials and mainstream music, and was later associated with politician Gene Talmadge.

Although both Miller and Hornsby were from the South, both were interested in more commercial, pop-oriented music; they saw little of the charm of the old music that attracted Walker, and they generally pushed the recording sessions they were in charge of more in a pop direction--or as far in a pop direction as they could. By the time the Delmore Brothers made their recording debut in Atlanta in 1931, Miller and Hornsby were insisting that their artists have "original material."⁸

Methodology

How did Walker and his crew go about finding and locating talent to record for his series? This is a complex problem, and one which I plan to explore at length in future studies; for now, however, a few cogent points may be in order. In a few cases, Walker and his counterpart at Victor, Ralph Peer, actually placed notices in local papers advertising their field trips.⁹ But as the field techniques became perfected, most field trips were set up far in advance, and the people who appeared had in many cases been auditioned earlier by one of Walker's men, or recommended by Columbia dealers. By 1929

Hornsby was even touring radio stations in the South looking for likely talent.

Atlanta became a sort of field headquarters for the company. Victor and Columbia had studios for a time in the same building on Peachtree Street, and the offices were across the hall from each other. One old musician told me: "There were two doors down there when you got up there; on one side was what they called The Riley Puckett door; on the other side was what they called The Jimmie Rodgers door." Hornsby kept a well-stocked library of old sheet music in a room next to the studio, and on occasion would duck into this room to verify some lyrics that a musician had forgotten. Columbia customarily paid expenses for musicians to come to Atlanta to record, and Columbia's fondness for using the Atlanta studio grew as time wore on. After 1925, as much as 66% of the 15000-D series releases were recorded in Atlanta. The only other field site to yield much material for the 15000-D series was Johnson City, Tennessee; trips to New Orleans, Dallas, and Memphis yielded some fine blues but relatively little old time material.

This reliance on Atlanta as a field base, to the exclusion of other sites, naturally affected the geographical range of the performers represented in the series. North Georgia performers absolutely dominated the 15000-D series; performers from "out-lying" areas were either not represented well, or were represented by other companies whose recording centers were more accessible to them.

Over 300 different recording groups show up in the 15000-D series. Some groups, however, had interchangeable members, and some groups were musicians who had recorded before under different names. Well over half these groups recorded only one record. At the same time, six groups accounted for over 50% of all the releases in the series. These groups were:

- (1) The Skillet Lickers constellation, with its off-shoot bands headed by Riley Puckett, Clayton McMichen, Lowe Stokes, Fate Norris, and others;
- (2) The Smith Sacred Singers--M. L. Thrasher groups from north Georgia (though Thrasher and Smith split from each other, the groups shared several key members);
- (3) Darby and Tarlton, recording always under their own names only;
- (4) Vernon Dalhart, with occasional pseudonyms;
- (5) Charlie Poole and the North Carolina Ramblers; and
- (6) The Leake County Revellers, from Mississippi.

Dalhart alone accounted for one third of all sides prior to 1928.

Walker and his co-workers did not hesitate to influence the nature and direction of the music when it suited their purpose. For example, Walker seemed possessed with the idea of finding a singing group to compete with Victor's highly successful Carter Family; he apparently groomed the Blue Ridge Mountain singers for this, and members of the Chumler Family recall being asked specifically to try to sound like the Carters. In doing things like this, Walker might well have distorted traditional singing styles or repertoire. But in other cases he went out of his way to preserve more archaic music forms when the artists wanted to go modern. Walker apparently insisted that Charlie Poole retain his trio format when Poole wanted to expand to a larger band. Walker held the Skillet Lickers together when they wanted to break up and forced Clayton McMichen to play older fiddle tunes when Mac was really wanting to experiment with jazz or western swing or popular pieces. Often Hornsby and Miller corresponded with performers for months before a session, discussing tune selections. Certainly during the last three years of the series, Columbia chose very selectively from the repertoire of its artists, and often these selections were dictated by originality, prior copyrights, and other recordings of a number.

Type of Songs in the Series

How much traditional music was represented in the 15000-D series? This is a debatable point, considering the current unsettled definition of traditional music. But a place to start is the copyright references that show up in the coupling notices. Generally speaking, about 25% of the songs in the series have such copyright notices. However, the notices do not include older copyrights, and they do include a few blatant attempts to copyright traditional material. (In 1927, for instance, Carson Robison copyrighted a version of "Barbara Allen".) But many of the copyrights listed in coupling notices are accurate. The percentage of copyrights increased as the series moved into the early 1930s and as Hornsby and Miller took over. In 1927-1930, with Walker still a force in the series, the copyrighted songs hovered between 15% and 20%. In 1931 the figure rose to 30% and by 1932 to 76%.

The percentage of copyrights, though, only tells us that, even by the vague business standards of the 1920s, Columbia recognized much of its old time product as Tin Pan Alley in origin. Indeed, one has to remember that the series was called "Familiar Tunes-- Old and New" (emphasis added). Copyrights do not tell us much about the type of music in the series, or even the type under copyright. To learn that, we have to delve into the songs themselves. Walker told Seeger that he had four main categories for the series' material: 1) jigs and reels; 2) event songs; 3) heart songs; and 4) gospel songs. It is noteworthy that this division reflects only distinctions of song type rather than provenance; there is no distinction of traditional from non-traditional material.

With this in mind, I have somewhat expanded Walker's categories to allow for such distinctions and to account for other occasional types that show up in the series and have devised the following list of categories:

- A. Traditional Instrumental tunes, played primarily on the fiddle or occasionally on the banjo, guitar, harmonica, or mandolin.
- B. Traditional songs: songs widely recognized as traditional in a conservative sense, or found in standard collections;
- C. Pre-War Pop songs, which includes popular Tin Pan Alley songs published prior to 1916.
- D. Post-War Pop songs: popular Tin Pan Alley songs published during or after 1916, but not country songs composed by the artists themselves at or near the time of recording.
- E. Event songs: songs composed and recorded in direct response to a national tragedy, scandal, or issue.
- F. Comedy recordings includes humorous songs as well as skits like "A Corn Licker Still in Georgia."
- G. Gospel songs includes sacred harp material, quartet material, convention songs, and solos or duets of sacred material.
- H. Original Country Vocals: new material written by old-time singers and directed toward an old-time audience, such as McMichen and Layne's "My Carolina Home."
- I. Original Instrumentals: instrumental tunes originating with their performer(s).
- N. Cajun music: the small number of field recordings made of Cajun performers in 1928.

This classification scheme has a number of admitted flaws. I am aware that many songs in category C (Pre-War pop) might well have been learned from tradition on by some of the performers. I have, for instance, included "The Little Old Log Cabin in the Lane" in the Pre-War category. Though it has been widely reported in tradition, it does have

a definite Tin Pan Alley history. The gospel songs category includes both pre-war and post-war material and some genuinely traditional material. It now seems clear that many of the gospel artists in the series (certainly including Smith and Thrasher) sang from the paperbacked "convention" books, and these routinely included songs of all three types. On many of the comedy records (especially the skits), there are traditional music and a few traditional jokes, even though the bulk of the skits themselves were written by individuals like Hugh Cross, Walker, and Hornsby. The distinction between post-war pop and original country vocal categories becomes at times tenuous, especially when dealing with some of Bob Miller's products. Finally, the setting of 1916 as the dividing line between "old" and "new" pop songs may seem somewhat arbitrary. But my feeling is that 1916, the year before America entered World War I, was a cultural watershed of sorts, and that once America emerged from the war it moved quickly into the age of mass media and "modern times."

A final problem in dealing with this system--or with any such system--is the simple mechanics of applying it. For this study, I have tried to listen to as many of the records in the 15000-D series as possible and to assign each song to one of these categories. I have personally listened to about 70% of the selections; some records have not turned up in accessible collections. In some cases, category assignments have been made on the basis of title and/or coupling notice information, with the uncertainty that such a process entails. Some songs have not been traceable to any one certain category, and some have been tentatively assigned to categories which may, with later research, prove erroneous. For these reasons, the following statistics must be seen as tentative and preliminary.

I have also limited the study to the years 1925 through 1931; 1932 was not included because hardly any of the sales data were available for that year. Thus, the study reflects the 15000-D series from Columbia 15000-D through Columbia 15726-D. Since one release number was not issued, the scope of the study includes 726 records, or 1452 tunes. Some 1427 tunes are reflected in these statistics; the balance could not be identified well enough to place in any category.

With these qualifications, we can then turn to the Columbia collection as a whole and explore the relative percentages of song types contained in it. Overall, the average percentages of song types throughout the period from 1925 through 1931 are as follows:

A. Traditional instrumental	10.5%
B. Traditional vocal	22.9%
C. Pre-war pop songs	16.2%
D. Post-war pop songs	12.5%
E. Event songs	3.4%
F. Comedy	5.5%
G. Gospel	19.4%
H. Original Country Vocal	6.5%
I. Original instrumental	2.6%
J. Cajun	0.5%

More useful, perhaps, is a breakdown of the number of different song types issued each year in the series. This is shown in Table 1.

An even more condensed picture can be studied by looking at the graph, Figure 2. This graph combines categories A and B (both traditional instrumental and vocal), categories C and D (old and new popular), and categories E, H, and I (original, new material), as well as gospel music. The results reveal the broader trends of release patterns over the years.

Some obvious conclusions can be drawn from these sets of data:

1) In every year but one the series released more traditional than popular material. In most years, though, the percentage difference between the two categories wasn't very significant. Generally speaking, about one third of the records released were some sort of traditional music.

2) There were more old (pre-1916) pop sides issued than new (post-1916) sides. Of course, most of the mainstream pop sides were issued in the Columbia 1-D series,

TABLE 1

COLUMBIA 15000-D SERIES: CLASSIFICATION OF ITEMS BY YEAR OF RELEASE

	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
A: Traditional Instrumental	3 (2.8%)*	22 (19%)	20 (10.5%)	28 (11.5%)	45 (14.6%)	22 (6%)	15 (7%)
B: Traditional Songs	37 (34%)	20 (17.5%)	51 (27%)	35 (14.5%)	69 (22.4%)	61 (22.5%)	54 (26%)
C: Pre-War Pop	25 (23.5%)	22 (19%)	32 (17%)	41 (17%)	61 (20%)	39 (14%)	18 (8.7%)
D: Post-War Pop	11 (10%)	26 (23%)	20 (10.6%)	19 (8%)	35 (11%)	40 (14.7%)	28 (13.5%)
E: Event Songs	12 (11%)	9 (8%)	8 (4%)	8 (3.3%)	5 (1.6%)	5 (2%)	2 (1%)
F: Comedy	0	2 (2%)	11 (6%)	21 (8.7%)	15 (5%)	14 (5%)	15 (7%)
G: Gospel	18 (17%)	11 (9.6%)	40 (21%)	58 (24%)	52 (17%)	56 (20.6%)	40 (19.4)
H: Original Country Vocal	0	2 (1.7%)	6 (3%)	13 (5.4%)	24 (8%)	24 (9%)	24 (11.6%)
I: Original Instrumental	0	0	0	9 (3.7%)	2 (6%)	10 (3.6%)	10 (4.8%)
N: Cajun	0	0	0	8 (3.3%)	0	0	0

The figures in parentheses indicate per cent of all items for the year indicated.



Cover from 1929 Columbia "Familiar Tunes" catalog.



L to R: Lowe Stokes, Frank Walker, Clayton McMichen.
(Courtesy of Charles Wolfe)

and some of the 1-D series releases were very popular in the South (e.g., the series by Moran and Mack, the Two Black Crows; individual sides by Vernon Dalhart, Ukulele Ike [Cliff Edwards], and Ford and Glenn).

3) Instrumental sides were always outnumbered by vocal sides. Walker recalled in his interview that instrumentalists were far more common than singers, but most of the sides in the 15000-D series had some singing on them. The gap between instrumental sides and vocal sides grew larger as the series developed.

4) There was a slow, steady rise in the number of original country vocals, reflecting the increasing commercialization of the music.

5) The percentage of gospel releases was steady throughout the seven years of the study, usually hovering between 18-20% of the releases. In fact, the relative percentage of gospel releases was the steadiest of any of the categories.

6) If one were to combine categories A, B, and C to

FIGURE 1

Graph showing release patterns by percentage of each year's releases.

TRADITIONAL curve shows combined percentages of categories A and B.

POP curve shows combined percentages of categories C and D.

ORIGINAL curve shows combined percentages of E, H, and I.

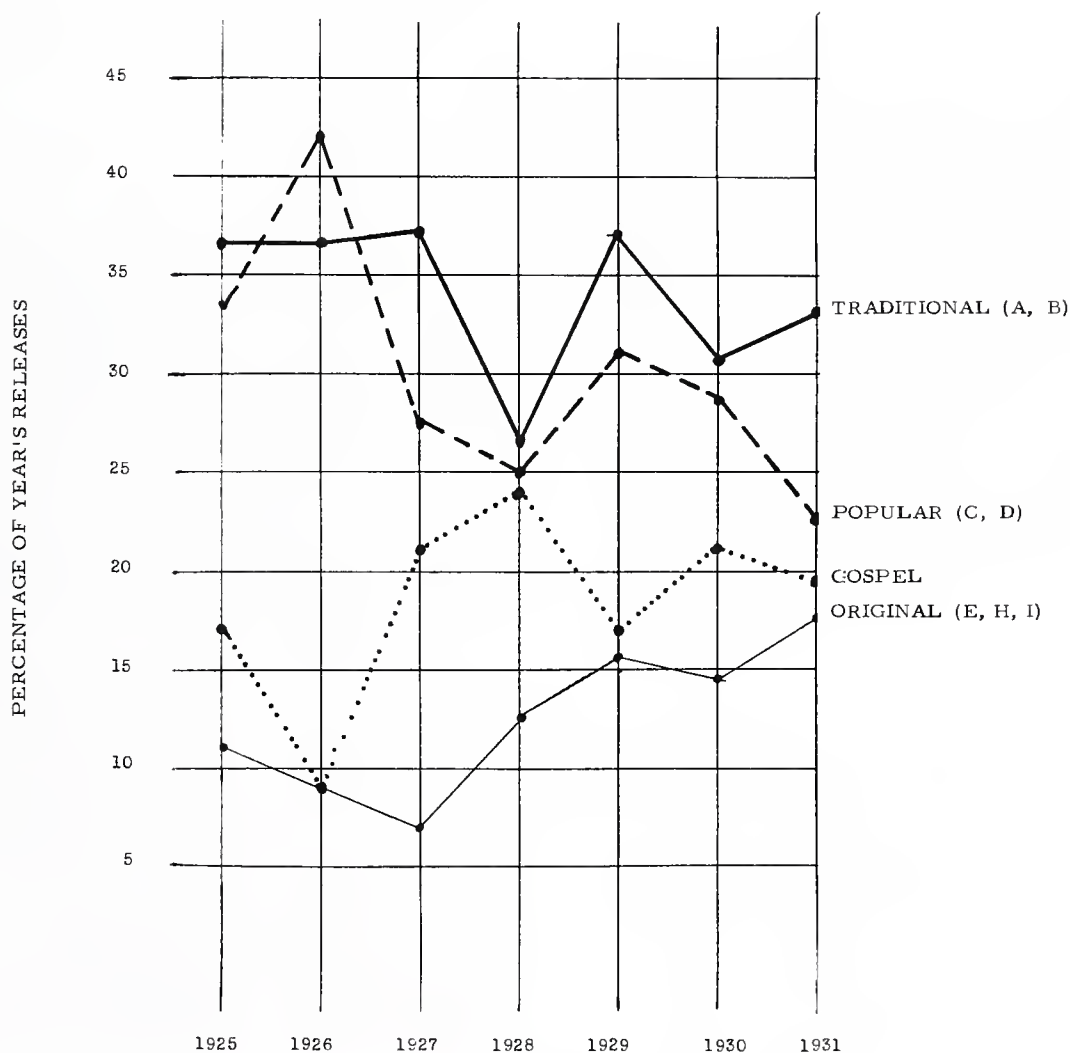


TABLE 2
COLUMBIA 15000-D SERIES, 1925-31 (THROUGH COL. 15726-D)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
	Total Sales of Sides	% of Total Sales	No. of Released Sides	% of Released Sides	Average Record Sale	Adjusted Average Record Sale	
A: Traditional Instrumental	2,766,839	12.2%	155	10.5%	17,850	13,610	4
B: Traditional Songs	5,656,732	24.9%	327	22.9%	17,290	12,530	11
C: Pre-War Pop	3,382,961	14.9%	232	16.2%	14,580	13,720	2
D: Post-War Pop	2,632,931	11.6%	179	12.5%	14,700	9,540	4
E: Event Songs	2,092,085	9.2%	49	3.4%	42,690	26,040	4
F: Comedy	1,445,879	6.3%	78	5.5%	18,530	14,790	2
G: Gospel	3,293,081	14.5%	275	19.4%	11,970	10,030	2
H: Original Country Vocal	1,049,007	4.6%	93	6.5%	11,270	9,231	1
I: Original Instrumental	228,678	1.0%	31	2.6%	7,376	7,376	0
N: Cajun	83,536	0.4%	8	0.5%	10,442	10,442	0

Total of various traditional types (A, B, N): 37.6% of all sales.

Total of various new material (D, E, F, H, I): 32.7% of all sales.

get a composite category that might be generally labelled "old secular songs and tunes," this category would account for almost half of the releases. This suggests that the key element in the series was nostalgia rather than genuine traditionalism. This composite percentage, though, gradually decreases through the years, until it reaches 42% by 1931.

7) It is instructive to compare the figures in Table 1 with a similar set of figures for Columbia's parallel 14000-D blues series. This series was also developed by Walker, and he supervised many of the recordings in it at the same field sessions that yielded the 15000-D selections. In Dan Mahony's excellent study of this series¹⁰, he devised a classification system different slightly from that presented here and computed the following percentages of releases:

vocal blues	25.3%
vaudeville vocals	33.7%
pop/standard vocals	7.0%
religious songs	12.8%
sermons	5.4%
West Indian songs	0.4%
instrumental blues	3.9%
instrumental fox trot	11.5%

In a very rough sense one could compare the 15000-D series' "traditional" category with the "vocal blues" category, in which case the percentages (25.3% vs. 23.4%) are quite close. Gospel-religious music in both series runs about the same. It should be noted, too, that Mahony is quite cautious about his categories and principles in assigning tunes to those categories, and generally distinguishes vaudeville vocals as mainly vocals by female singers, regardless of the nature of the song.

Sales of Different Categories

The type of music released in the 15000-D series really tells us more about Columbia's expectations than anything else; it shows us the kinds of music they thought they would sell. To test the accuracy of these expectations, we must turn to the sales figures themselves. It is these sales figures which reflect the 15000-D series as an active influence on southern cul-

ture, and it is these figures that really show how successfully Walker and his associates designed their product.

The 726 records released in the 15000-D series through 1931 sold a total of 11,316,000 records: an average sale of about 15,600 per record. The best-selling record sold slightly over 300,000 copies; the poorest-selling, barely 500. Some records were kept in the catalogue longer than others and thus had a longer selling life. Some records originally released in 1926, for example, were still selling in 1930. Some early records in the series established themselves as "standards," while later records by the same artists were deleted from the catalogue when the stock on hand was exhausted; in other cases, records were repressed. It is important to remember that the sales figures used in this study are cumulative sales totals of all sales for a record throughout all the years that record was available. Without further data, it is impossible to break the sales down to a year-by-year basis, to determine if buying patterns shifted within the seven-year span covered by the study.

Later studies will chronicle the specific "greatest hits" of the 15000-D series. My concern here is with presenting an overview of the sales picture. This overview, however, must take into account the role of the best-seller, because Columbia sales were a significant function of big-selling records. For instance, fifteen records in the series sold in excess of 100,000; their combined sales accounted for as much as 23% of the total sales in the series. In other words, 2% of the releases brought in 23% of the sales. When these records and their sales are subtracted from the general sales, the average sale in the series drops from 15,600 to 12,300 copies.

In many cases, a record would have different song types on each side. To reflect this possible division, the following data have been reduced to "sides" rather than "records." In computing the total sales, for instance, if a record had two sides, both of which were the same song type, then the data would reflect twice the actual sales figure. The total record sales of 11,316,000 represent 22,632,000 sides. In most cases it is impossible to tell what side of a record was a hit side; for purposes of distribution and influence, both sides of the record were equally available to the audience.

Table 2 shows the sales, per side, broken down by the various categories established earlier. Column 1 shows the total sales of all sides in each category; column 2 reflects the percent of overall

sales the column 1 figure represents; column 3 gives the number of sides released in a particular category; column 4 recapitulates the percent of all released sides that category represents; column 5 reflects the average sale for a side in that category; column 6 represents an "adjusted" average sale, a figure attained by discarding the 15 best-selling records from the data; and column 7 shows the number of best-selling sides represented by each category.

Examining Table 2, we can see that some song types apparently more than pulled their own weight: that is, their sales percentage was larger than their release percentage. Traditional instrumentals accounted for 12.2% of the sales with only 10.5% of the releases; event songs sold 9% of the sides with only 3.4% of the releases. By the same token, some genres undersold their expectations; gospel music accounted for only 14.5% of the sales with 19.2% of the releases. Overall, though, it is remarkable how well Columbia judged its market and responded to it; they pretty much released the type of music they could sell.

The biggest average record sale was generated by event songs, 42,690. Most of the successful event songs were issued in the first two years of the series. After event songs, comedy sides had the biggest average sale, then traditional instrumentals and songs. The smallest average sale was for gospel songs.

Some types of song were more likely to produce smash hits than others. Event songs, of course, was the category most likely to produce more hits per release: almost 8% of event song releases sold over 100,000 copies. Other categories generating a number of big hits included traditional instrumentals and post-war pop.

The total of both "traditional" categories, A and B, produced 37.1% of all the sales; the total of both "popular" categories, C and D, produced only 26.5% of the sales. This should make folklorists happy, for it suggests that the collection, to an extent, functioned more as a folk influence on the culture than a pop influence. Fifteen of the big smash hits were traditional; only six were popular. Comparing the cumulative sales of these two combined categories with their cumulative releases, we can see that traditional material sold slightly better than expected (37% sales for 33% releases), while pop as a whole (C and D) sold worse than expected (26.5% sales for 28.7% of the releases). If we add the comedy totals to the traditional totals (for, in fact, many of the skits contained traditional music), the total sales account for 43% of the overall sales. About four out of every ten recorded songs in the 15000-D series sold by Columbia from 1925 to 1931 was a traditional song of some type.

How much was the popularity of the individual artist a factor in these sales? If people bought, say, Riley Puckett records because they were by Riley Puckett, then the above figures have to be evaluated in a slightly different light. This is a highly complex question which I plan to reserve for a future separate study; my feeling now is that many record buyers bought the song rather than the singer. However, it is a fact that, of the fifteen highest selling Columbia 15000-D titles, two artists (Vernon Dalhart and the Skillet Lickers) had eleven. Of course, this could be a result of the fact that Dalhart and the Skillet Lickers recorded more than others; and of course, they could have been recorded more because they sold well. Without some rather complicated statistics, this issue will be hard to resolve.

Distribution Patterns

According to the coupling notices, new Columbia records in the 15000-D series were released every ten days. In the early years of the series, two records were released every ten days; in later years, as the number of releases was stepped up, as many as five records were released every ten days, or as many as fifteen per month (in 1928). Monthly catalogue supplements were issued for the Columbia 15000-D series, often with photos and write-ups about artists. Columbia dealers were sent advance listings of the new records and allowed to pre-order titles they thought would sell; this "preview" technique probably dictated the initial pressing orders for the releases. (A typical deal order form for 1929 is reproduced in JEMFQ #35, pp. 105-109). Though there is little evidence that Columbia forced its new releases on its dealers, the dealers

were apparently not allowed to return unsold records.

Newspapers of the late 1920s are full of advertisements for Columbia records, usually sponsored by local Columbia dealers. Many of the advertisements have mail order coupons in them, suggesting that some Columbia sales were made by mail. In 1928 and 1929 Columbia records were also advertised and sold by Montgomery Ward's, one of the country's major mail order houses; Ward's 1928 catalogue listed ten Columbia 15000-D series records, and the 1929 catalogue listed 52 records. (Of the ten records listed in the 1928 catalogue, three were among the top seven sellers, and two others sold well above average; was Ward's selling proven hits, or generating hits?) Ward's distribution certainly expanded the Columbia sales pattern beyond the South, and helped popularize the series.

It is almost impossible to say how much money Columbia made from their old time records. They apparently sold records to their dealers at between 35¢ and 40¢ per disc; with the average record selling 15,600, the company would have taken in between \$5000 and \$6000 per disc. This would not have been all profit, of course, out of this would have come production costs (about which we know nothing), overhead, and artists' fees (usually a flat \$50 per side). Doubtless, artists were exploited under this system; even those who received royalties usually got only a fraction of the profits generated by their hits. It is not surprising that virtually none of the artists saw record-making as a serious way to make money.

Conclusions

We must be extremely cautious about applying the results of this highly preliminary study to the early country music industry as a whole. Columbia was only one of seven major companies operating and at best represents only a fraction of the industry as a whole. A number of factors, not the least of which was Frank Walker, might well have operated to make Columbia untypical. Columbia's sales figures, to be sure, seem roughly compatible with those we have seen from Victor and Gennett. However, the song type content of the other companies remains to be explored, as do their marketing methods and philosophy.

There is also the problem of seeing the sales figures in perspective. I have argued elsewhere, as has Norm Cohen, that there were very few, if any, "million-sellers" in the country music world of the 1920s. The Columbia figures seem to bear this out. Yet even today the typical Nashville country album sells only between 20,000 and 30,000 copies, and it has only been in the last three years that a country LP has "gone platinum"--actually sold a million copies. (This was Willie Nelson and Waylon Jennings' *Outlaws* on Victor.) In this light, a sale of 20,000 copies to the much more limited country audience of the 1920s is indeed impressive. In fact, the average sale of records in the 15000-D series is somewhat higher than has been previously estimated. Doubtless the Depression seriously affected record sales; the average sale of records released in 1930, for instance, was 2,480; by 1931, this figure had fallen to 886. Of course, older records still in the catalogue were continuing to see during these years, though certainly in smaller numbers.¹¹

Finally, the study reveals that the Columbia series contained a substantial amount of traditional material and that this material sold very well. By no means can we see the series, in the older simplistic mode, as a collection of folk songs; it contains as much pop culture as folklore. This analysis of the Columbia series suggests that old time music (or what some scholars still call hillbilly music), as a genre, was an amalgam of traditional songs, older popular songs, religious songs, and new material which had a rural flavor: an amalgam which had as its common denominator a sense of nostalgia. But given the commercial goals of those who produced the series, the wonder is that the traditional content is as high as it is. Part of this can be ascribed to the audience that supported the series; perhaps the impulse that made people across the South buy traditional tunes on record was the same impulse that caused them to preserve the old tunes in the first place. Whatever the case, it seems clear by now that this first generation of country records can no longer be ignored by anyone attempting to deal with the traditional music or culture of the rural South.

(Concluded on p. 144)

JOHN HENRY DEPICTED

By Archie Green

Among the handful of ballads widely known throughout the United States is "John Henry," treasured alike by traditional singers and interpreters of folksong. This ballad hero is also found in story, novel, play, and film. In a perceptive article a decade ago, Richard M. Dorson pointed out that illustrators of childrens' books had helped fix John Henry in national consciousness; indeed, now he is heard and seen simultaneously, and is, as well, an intertwined folk and popular-culture figure. We no longer have to hear the song in order to envision a black worker swinging his hammer, defying the steam drill, and dying tragically. A scientific poll is unnecessary to assert that John Henry is the major American ballad hero astride our visual landscape. Barbara Allen, Brave Wolfe, Jesse James, Stagolee, or Captain Kidd are not seen as clearly, as often, or as embellished as is he.

In this feature I shall trace John Henry's appearance in graphic form, and indicate when he first moved from ballad or legend to sketch pad, studio easel, drawing board, or lithographer's stone. Also, I shall develop a checklist of John Henry depictions parallel to existing bibliographies and discographies. We can assume that *JEMFO* readers have already heard "John Henry" in performance but, perhaps, have taken no special notice of the many portraits engendered by his exploits.

The John Henry chronology is not complicated; it begins with railway construction along West Virginia's Greenbriar River after the Civil War. During 1870-1872, Chesapeake & Ohio crews completed the Great Bend Tunnel, popularly called Big Bend, through a spur of the Allegheny Mountains in Summers County. We cannot say with ironclad certainty that a particular black worker named John Henry was employed by the C&O's contractors, nor is it a hard fact that anyone competed on the job with a Burleigh steam drill. Regardless, by the turn of the century, John Henry was named in several hammer or work songs and a ballad also emerged which centered on a tunnel driller's display of strength and his eventual loss to technology, to modernity.

A fragment of "John Henry" was submitted to the *Journal of American Folklore* during 1909 by Louise Rand Bascom, and, as other bits and pieces surfaced, John Harrington Cox, a ballad scholar in West Virginia, attempted to relate the origins of "John Henry" and "John Hardy." Cox's approach was

not fruitful. However, in 1925, Louis Watson Chappell, a young teacher of English at the University of West Virginia, began serious field work to establish the ballad's historicity; his major study was not published until 1933.

Meanwhile, in 1926, Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Johnson, sociologists at the University of North Carolina, presented an excellent account of John Henry in *Negro Workaday Songs* combining song texts, a tall tale, and some contextual analysis. The book represented the work of two scholars but Johnson made John Henry his province. Especially interesting to me is Johnson's anecdotal ending using the words of a Tar Heel workman: "Dey buried John Henry dere in de tunnel, an' now dey got his statue carved in solid rock at de mouth o' de Big Ben' tunnel on de C&O -- das right over dere close to Asheville somewhere. No, I ain't never been dere, but dere he stan', carved in great big solid rock wid de hammer in his han'." I do not know who was the first folk singer or tale teller imaginative enough to project a legendary worker into a monument guarding his own tunnel or memorializing his own death. I assert that Guy Johnson was the first writer to sense the power in this leap from oral to visual artistry.

In 1927, Johnson returned to John Henry in a synoptic article for *Ebony and Topaz*, a collection of lore and creative writing issued by the National Urban League. His writing was balanced and provocative, treating the steel driver as a subject in balladry, rhythmic work songs, and oral reminiscences. Despite personal investigation at the Big Bend Tunnel, Johnson could not move John Henry from the realm of legend to that of historical fact. Nevertheless, the scholar asserted that the truth of this laborer's life in tradition outweighed in importance any questions of the song's historicity. Johnson once more took up his prescient ending:

I marvel that some poet ... does not sing John Henry's praises, that some playwright does not dramatize him, that some painter does not picture him as he battles with the steam drill, or that some sculptor does not fulfill the wishful phantasy of that Negro pick-and-shovel man who said to me, "Cap'n, they tells me that they got John Henry's statue

carved out o' solid rock at the head
o' Big Bend Tunnel. Yes, sir, there
he stan' with the hammer in his han'."

In the half century since Johnson's anticipatory words were penned, John Henry has been given visual life, has appeared on the Broadway stage, has been a subject in educational films, has served in classical musical settings by Aaron Copeland and others and, finally, stands in sculpture above the tunnel portal. Fascinated by the folk hero's past exploits, Johnson sensed in 1927 that John Henry would continue to travel far beyond the vocal range of the song's first singers. It is our task to judge the skill and sensitivity with which authors, painters and sculptors have helped shape this tunnel driller's journey.

Because my emphasis here is on the role of artists who served to establish John Henry as a compelling symbol, I shall open with the very first portrait of him known to me -- one by Eben Given. It is reproduced from Frank Shay's *Here's Audacity* (Macaulay, 1930), a book designed for adult readers of colorful Americana as well as for teen-agers. Shay included separate chapter-length accounts of nine heroes, traditional or newly minted: Kemp Morgan, Old Stormalong, Kwasind (Hiawatha), White Stallion, Strap Buckner, Pecos Bill, Paul Bunyan, Tony Beaver, John Henry. Given contributed 16 portraits to *Here's Audacity*; curiously, he placed John Henry in the foreground of a factory, possibly a steel mill. I like Given's dignified portrait, but I am baffled by seeing the "tunnel stiff" so far from his mountain setting and his railway construction job. Apart from its intrinsic worth as a portrait, or the artist's mysterious choice of background, this illustration remains the opening link in a long visual chain shaped over a span of decades.

Folklorists talk constantly of the shift of traditional expression specific to a region or occupation into full national consciousness, but find it difficult to document precise step-by-step progression. We shall never learn who first sang "John Henry," but we are reasonably certain that Eben Given was the first illustrator assigned the task of presenting the legendary black worker to readers. Why did it take from 1872 to 1930 for any artist to depict John Henry? What circumstances had to come together before a folk hero could be transformed from verbal to visual art?

We believe that itinerant workers carried their lore away from the Big Bend Tunnel as they dispersed to seek new employment, and we chart such dispersal east to the Carolina lowlands and west to the Texas plains by the physical recovery of a song in scattered locales. At least one early (but undated) printed broadside of "John Henry," signed by W. T. Blankenship, was found by Professor Johnson. However, this rare broadside does not alter substantially the

song's oral base. It is unlikely that many traditional performers learned "John Henry" from the Blankenship slip before the mid-twenties. However, with early phonograph recordings (old-time and race), the song did begin to circulate from disc to singer and back again to disc. In contrast to our inability to date the precise origin of "John Henry" either as ballad or work song, we know that it was first recorded by Fiddlin' John Carson for the Okeh label in March 1924. This was followed in October 1925 by the ballad's first field recording when Robert Winslow Gordon collected it on cylinder from Fred J. Lewey at Concord, North Carolina.

Hence, we assert that until the mid-twenties John Henry "belonged" only to the folk and to a tiny band of academic collectors living symbiotically with traditional performers. At the same time that Guy Johnson came to grips with John Henry's meaning, Carl Sandburg placed the ballad's text and tune in the *American Songbag* (1927). With this popular book, the piece could become the property of new singers far removed from folk society. Sandburg himself included this ballad in his stage concerts, helping to move it from the folk to "revival" enthusiasts.

It is not entirely a coincidence that Johnson's article on John Henry appeared close to the *American Songbag's* publication. Both the poet and the sociologist were part of a strong current in the twenties calling attention to Afro-American folk culture. Johnson perceived himself as an academician, yet one unanticipated consequence of his investigation beyond studying a song was that of projecting formal and symbolic analysis about John Henry into popular thought. In 1929 Johnson's findings were expanded into a full-length book, *John Henry: Tracking Down a Negro Legend*, published at the University of North Carolina Press. From the day it appeared, all popularizers who wished to use John Henry as a subject at any level had but to turn to Johnson's study.

Seemingly, before 1927, no artist (whether of allegory, narrative, portrait, landscape, or genre) had any reason to stake out a claim to John Henry. I raise here a complex issue on the choice by an artist outside folk society of any traditional subject, and I ask: can we learn how such a subject moves out of the possession of its prime creators to become a widely shared artistic image? We have a number of major studies on folk art in the United States, but none on the folk as subject within fine art. It is my observation that folk musicians, their instruments, and songs became artistic subjects within the realm of high and popular culture as part of the process of urbanization/industrialization in our two centuries of nationhood. Essentially, the rapid modernization of American life placed a special premium of nostalgic or celebratory value on some music, usually denominated "by-gone," "old-time," "quaint," or "folk." We look to a wide diversity of channels for examples of this post-industrial musical portraiture: sheet music covers, minstrel-stage posters, genre paintings of specific events such as quilting bees and barn dances, American scene and regional paintings of the New Deal era, phonograph record company advertisements.

John Henry was born neither on the minstrel stage nor on Tin Pan Alley. Literally, the legendary steel driver came out of the rich imagination and rhetorical skills of two sets of creators: former slaves new to industry and Appalachian balladeers. Accordingly, there was no way that this folk hero could have appeared in any commercial art prior to the time of his falling into the nets of writers of popular fiction. Could John Henry have appeared in the work of an academically-trained painter before the mid-twenties? Only if such an artist had come originally out of southern rural life and had heard the ballad or worksong traditionally. One black artist, Palmer Hayden, born in a Virginia village in 1891, did turn to "The Legend of John Henry" after 1944, painting twelve oils on canvas with magnificent results. Hayden retained a childhood memory of the traditional John Henry, but benefited largely from two decades of academic and popular attention to the hero before he undertook the paintings. I shall comment in a future article on Hayden's series, but, here, I return to the crucial years 1927-1930.

When Frank Shay's *Here's Audacity* was close to publication, either the author or a Macaulay editor sought an illustrator to embellish it. Eben Given's background as an artist is unknown to me; hence, I can only speculate that he first "saw" John Henry through Shay's prose. In short, the sequence, as I reconstruct it, is Johnson to Shay to Given; or academic study to popular story to visual portrait. Although Shay chose public rather than scholarly norms, he was not unacquainted with the discipline folklore. In 1924 he had edited a fine collection of sea shanties; between 1927-1930 he compiled three anthologies mixing traditional and popular drinking songs. Shay was a member of the Texas Folklore Society, a friend of J. Frank Dobie, and conversant with controversies in ballad studies during the 1920s. Shay closed *Here's Audacity* with a useful bibliography crediting his sources, including Guy Johnson's 1927 article and 1929 book.

To begin to see John Henry as a national figure is to know Eben Given's initial portrait, and then to go on to the work of Julius J. Lankes (1884-1960), an American woodcut artist and peer of Lynd Ward and Rockwell Kent. J. J. Lankes was widely respected for illustrations of books by Robert Frost, Genevieve Taggard, Selma Lagerlof, and others. His best engravings of rural life are found in *Virginia Woodcuts* (1932). On the whole, Lankes' art is tender and serene; however, a few of his John Henry cuts fall into stereotypical patterns of minstrelsy. Reproduced here are four items by Lankes -- one of which I select as grotesque (hero as stevedore), one as humorous (baby John), and two as typical of Lankes' bucolic vision (picking cotton, spiking ties). These first appeared in Roark Bradford's episodic novel *John Henry*, published in 1931, and widely

distributed by the Literary Guild. In my judgment, Bradford's novel has not worn well with time, but Lankes' illustrations do hold continued attention; I suggest that the artist's pictures have outlasted the author's text.

Bradford is recalled today by association with a widely successful musical play, *Green Pastures*, adapted by Marc Connelly from a series of Bradford's dialect stories based on Negro biblical tales: *Ol' Man Adam an' His Chillun* (1928). Born in Mississippi in 1896, Bradford was one of the last white writers to achieve fame by contriving fiction loosely drawn from black folklife. Nevertheless, Bradford's *John Henry*, more than any other single piece of writing, pushed this black folk hero into national consciousness. Taking liberty with John Henry's initial occupation, Bradford presented him as a Mississippi River roustabout. Lankes, in turn, prepared a frontispiece woodcut of a grimacing John Henry totin' a huge bale of cotton down a gangplank. Fortunately, Lankes was able to balance this frontispiece with 24 additional cuts used as chapter headings and in end-paper designs.

In the chapter-head cut of the birth of the hero, we see a stevedore's hook in the baby's hand. Forever after, other artists depicted little John clutching assorted tools or objects: carpenter's clawhammer, metalsmith's ballpeen hammer, mallet, sledgehammer, spiking maul, railroad-tie spike, steel drill bit. The two other chapterhead cuts by Lankes represent cotton picking and track maintenance, everyday work in the South of the type known to the creators and carriers of the traditional John Henry. These scenes are pure Lankes; they have the virtue of conveying to readers far removed from any labor experience the notion that John Henry was primarily a worker, and not a hustler, trickster, or clown.

After the success of *Green Pastures*, Roark Bradford also adapted his novel *John Henry* for Broadway. The play -- a fantasy in two acts of eleven scenes with music by Jacques Wolfe and sets by Albert Johnson -- opened for a short run in Philadelphia on 11 December 1939. Paul Robeson took the lead, Ruby Elzy played his wife Julie Anne, and Joshua White was the banjo-picking roustabout Blind Lemon. The play opened in New York on 11 January 1940 but was not well received. Brooks Atkinson in the *Times* was enthusiastic about Robeson, but puzzled that Bradford and Wolfe had failed to capture the tremendous vitality within this folk narrative. Anticipating success, Harper & Brothers published the full play in 1939 in a handsome book holding photographs of five of the stage sets. Reproduced here is the book's well designed cover: natural colored linen cloth, title and author's name stamped in black and outlined by red bars, silhouetted figures below of riverboat and roustabout. The key cover figure of John Henry totin' a bale appeals to me because of its strong and dignified focus on his task. He is neither elevated nor demeaned and, hence, visually a stronger emblem than the John Henry in Bradford's prose. (I do not know the name of the artist who designed the play's book cover.)

Shay's account in *Here's Audacity* (1930) and Bradford's novel of 1931 gave the lead to a score of subsequent writers of children's books on John Henry. Some of these books were illustrated by artists with understanding of or respect for folk tradition. In this feature I have selected for reproduction several drawings from three juvenile books and have relegated information on the many others to an appended checklist. From the mass of available material, one can generalize that writers, who bring John Henry down to the level of juvenile fiction, fall into two camps -- the hero humanized (ordinary, friendly, neighborly) or the hero magnified (mysterious, powerful, supernatural).

James Henry Daugherty (1889-1965) is one of the best-known American book illustrators of this century. Born on an Indiana farm, he heard from his pioneer grandfather word-of-mouth tales of Daniel Boone. About 1898, Daugherty's father found government employment in Washington, D.C., and, in time, James began lessons at the Corcoran Gallery Art School. He worked as a professional artist throughout his life, including a stint as a New Deal muralist in a Stamford, Connecticut high school. His first book illustrations, still memorable, were for Stuart Edward White's *Daniel Boone, Wilderness Scout* (1922). Daugherty was especially pulled to frontier themes, drawing his pioneers as tall, muscular men, moving in rhythm with forest and stream, earth and sky.

In 1936, Houghton Mifflin published a handsomely printed anthology, *Their Weight in Wildcats: Tales of the Frontier*, dramatically illustrated by Daugherty. All the tales were credited to specific sources; a John Henry ballad was taken from Guy Johnson's book of 1929. Daugherty added three fine illustrations to the song, giving the steel driller a heroic cast not previously achieved by Given or Lankes. During World War II, Daugherty returned to John Henry by contributing 24 drawings to Irwin Shapiro's *John Henry and the Double Jointed Steam-Drill* (1945). From it I have selected several examples: John Henry exhausted in defeat; the hero in a fanciful reincarnation with the drill which previously had caused his death. I have also reproduced the frontispiece which placed John Henry in a then-relevant political frame. The bold defense worker is flanked by a black GI soldier and a mother and child. Below is a frieze of real-life heroes: Joe Louis, George Washington Carver, Paul Robeson, Marian Anderson, Booker T. Washington, Richard Wright. One has to have a close appreciation of wartime America's quest for national unity to appreciate Daugherty's juxtaposition of these figures. Interestingly, when publisher Messner combined and reprinted five of Shapiro's children's stories, *Heroes in American Folklore* (1962), Daugherty's frontispiece was deleted. I have felt it important to "resurrect" it to under-

score that American folk heroes have served a variety of purposes, depending on circumstance of popularization.

In contrast to Daugherty's near-mythic figures, I reproduce one by Aldren Watson from Harold Felton's *John Henry and His Hammer* (1950). The book holds a dozen full-page illustrations in blue, grey, and black, as well as several small chapter-head and end items. We see through Watson's eyes little John reduced to a gentle and friendly child who could well live next door to any comfortable reader of the book. John Henry's cabin is not dilapidated, clean wash hangs on the line, a rain barrel catches precious soft water, and a cheerful bird in the tree surveys all. Watson is a respected illustrator of juvenile fiction, accurate and imaginative. Felton is careful in his prose and open in crediting academic sources. Through the work of author and illustrator, we see the ultimate result of the reduction of a folk hero. John Henry emerges bland rather than powerful, familiar rather than mysterious, neighborly rather than legendary. Generally, scholars are sharply critical of the treatment of folklore in children's fiction. Despite this, publishers and their associates continue to simplify, soften, and sanitize.

The contrast between Daugherty and Watson is not meant to elevate one at the expense of the other, but rather to mark diametrically opposed views on the presentation of folklore to children. If my generalization of hero humanized versus hero magnified is helpful in viewing John Henry in juvenile stories, a contribution between these poles also may be useful. In 1942, James Cloyd Bowman offered a fictive *John Henry: The Rambling Black Ulysses*, illustrated by Roy La Grone. The author identified his long novel as "genuine folklore" based on direct field investigation. La Grone apparently also attempted to work in folk style, preparing a series of near-primitive drawings. I select one that is folk in content: Aunt Liza, a conjure woman, uses goofer dust and voodoo fear to create a powerful boy child out of a fetishistic doll. Nothing of the artist's background is known to me, but I am struck by the fact that it was appropriate in 1942 for author Bowman to comment "How I Uncovered the Folklore of John Henry" but we are left to guess at La Grone's parallel discovery.

I shall not comment further on the many books listed below except to call special attention to two of the best: Ezra Jack Keats, *John Henry: An American Legend* (1965); R. Conrad Stein (author) and Darrell Wiskur (artist), *Steel Driving Man* (1969). Both of these books for youngsters are large, and filled with multicolored, highly imaginative lithographs. In my judgment, Keats and Wiskur catch John Henry's power and tragedy without diminishing him to cardboard. Especially interesting to me are several unusual drawings in both books of huge steam-boiler drills. It is difficult to describe accurately the great variety of tools portrayed by various artists puzzled by differences between hand drills, steam drills, electric drills, pneumatic hammers, and it is amusing to see John Henry using drills not yet invented in 1872. To their credit, Keats and Wiskur were able to help children appreciate steam power.

Not all of the art devoted to John Henry is found in juvenile fiction. Other categories are: commercial advertisements in which the hero extolls a product, promotional art in connection with films, animated cartoons within films, tourist souvenirs, medallions, decals, sculpture, fine art, folk art. This very wide range is demonstrated in my appended checklist; for comment I select but one wood carving.

Without actually seeing the full variety of John Henry books or commercial gimmickry, one cannot appreciate this hero's interconnection in folk and popular tradition. Some scholars have categorized cultural data into four discrete strata: high, pop, folk, tribal. These sets, at times labeled with other tags, are used by all of us to sort out experience even though we recognize the considerable blurring of events in expressive life. The "John Henry" sung by a construction laborer in the last century can be distinguished from the "same" piece sung recently by Lonnie Donegan, Odetta, or Pete Seeger. Similarly, it is useful to contrast the popular art, which embellishes children's books, with recent folk art centered on this work hero. We know that the John Henry of ballad fame moved over time from the realm of folk into popular expression. However, the reverse seems to be true at the level of folk art.

The few examples of John Henry by folk artists known to collectors are small wood carvings created in recent years by several West Virginians from rural or blue-collar backgrounds. Reproduced here are two photos (by Douglas Chadwick) of John Henry wielding twin hammers while his shaker turns the drill. This carving's creator was the late Charlie J. Permilia, a coal miner and railroad man from West Virginia. Leaving the mines in 1959, he began to carve biblical scenes, animals, and mountain people in everyday life. With these familiar subjects he worked in the esthetic tradition of many self-taught American artists.

We do not know Permilia's precise motive for undertaking a dramatic rail panorama centered at the Big Bend Tunnel -- nearly 100 small figures or pieces of equipment carved from native woods and mounted on 12 eight-foot plywood panels. Permilia, of course, in his artistry fell back upon direct experience as a railroad worker, and may or may not have heard "John Henry" sung traditionally. But in the years before his death (1966), he may also have seen John Henry in a child's book or a commercial advertisement. In short, we do not know how he first became aware of John Henry nor at what level of perception. We know only that he shaped his vision of the legendary steel driller three decades after Eben Given and J.J. Lankes pictured John Henry for popular audiences. It is too late to ask Permilia about his inspiration, but, if we make the effort, we can ask living artists in folk society about their

choices and sources.

In compiling the checklist below, in selecting a baker's dozen from the available depictions of John Henry, and in the commentary above, I have attempted to shed light on the little-explored questions of how and why artists outside folk settings select subject matter from within traditional society. To generalize, artists turn to folklore or music when such expression is awarded a special nostalgic or celebratory premium in modern life. To comment specifically on John Henry, he came to visual presence in children's literature and folk-popularizations, during the 1930s, after Guy Johnson made available formal and symbolic analysis about this folk hero.

John Henry is surely as important now to students of popular culture as he is to folklorists. Over the years, scholars have devoted much effort to the matter of the tunnel driller's status. Was he an actual worker? Is he only a legendary hero? As well, we have analyzed ballad texts in great detail. In Norm Cohen's forthcoming *Long Steel Rail*, a lengthy "John Henry" discography will appear. With over 300 recordings made during the past half-century, "John Henry" is easily the most-recorded American folksong. My graphics feature opens up another area of study. I am conscious, in this start, that many visuals are yet to be added to the list, and shall appreciate correspondence.

Hopefully, in future features, I shall be able to comment on the works of (and reproduce material by) Palmer Hayden, Fred Becker, and William Gropper. Also, I hope to visit Summers County, West Virginia to interview wood carver S. L. Jones, who continues to depict John Henry in his home community. Finally, I wish to comment on Charles Cooper's bronze statue erected over the Big Bend Tunnel in 1972 by the Talcott-Hilldale Ruritan Club. As early as the mid-twenties, at least one imaginative black laborer in the South saw John Henry carved in solid rock, "wid de hammer in his han'," guarding his own death site. I believe that, in time, the present bronze will generate its own body of lore.

In closing, I thank the many friends -- librarians, record collectors, archivists, photographers, newspaper reporters -- who have contributed material to this checklist. Their own enthusiasm forms a telling commentary on how widespread is continued interest in John Henry.

NEW JEMF LP ALBUMS NOW AVAILABLE

Now available are JEMF 105: *New England Traditional Fiddling: An Anthology of Recordings from 1926-1975*; and JEMF 107: *Texas Crapshooter-- hot fiddle-guitar duets by the Farr Brothers*. JEMF 105, edited by Paul Wells, comes with a 34-page booklet that contains a social history of fiddling in New England from colonial times, as well as notes on the tunes and performers. JEMF 107, edited by Michael Mendelson, draws on electrical transcription recordings never before available for sale. Each album/booklet costs \$6.25 (\$5 to members of Friends of JEMF).

CHECKLIST OF JOHN HENRY DEPICTIONS

Part I, Books and Journals

(Illustrations in black and white unless color specified)

- 1930 - Eben Given for Frank Shay. *Here's Audacity*. New York, Macaulay.
Sixteen portraits for nine heroes. John Henry appears with steel mill in background, page 246.
- 1931 - J. J. Lankes for Roark Bradford. *John Henry*. New York, Harper.
Woodcut frontispiece of John Henry as steamboat stevedore (orange and b/w). Twenty-four small woodcuts also used in novel: preliminary pages, vignette on title page, chapter headings, decorations for end papers. Some of these cuts represent narrative episodes; others represent southern setting. A few cuts are used more than once.
- 1936 - James Daugherty. *Their Weight in Wildcats: Tales of the Frontier*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin.
Daugherty's many drawings of brawling heroes enhance this handsomely printed anthology. John Henry is identified as a new industrial hero. Three illustrations, two small cuts and one full-page (green and b/w), complement a ballad reprinted from Guy B. Johnson's *John Henry* (1929). Daugherty's steel driver swings his hammer at a drill bit embedded in solid rock, page 174.
- 1937 - Elizabeth Black Carmer for Carl Carmer. *The Hurricane's Children*. New York, Farrar and Rinehart.
Tales told by Carmer over Columbia's network radio station WABC in program, "Your Neck o' the Woods." Mrs. Carmer draws John Henry as a tiny baby in his father's hand, mother in background, page 125.
- 1939 - Artist not credited for Roark Bradford. *John Henry* [a play]. New York, Harper.
Play based on 1931 novel. Music by Jacques Wolfe. Photographs of five stage sets by Albert Johnson included in book. The title page (two leaves) holds a drawing of John Henry as a steamboat stevedore totin' a cotton bale. This drawing, reduced in size, is stamped on the book's linen cover.
- 1939 - Richard Bennett for Olive Beaupre Miller. *Heroes, Outlaws, & Funny Fellows of American Popular Tales*. New York, Doubleday.
Twenty-five full-page drawings, one for each tale, and additional small decorative drawings. Portrait of John Henry sitting erect on a split rock, grasping handle of hammer, page 150.
- 1941 - Robert McCloskey for Ann Malcolmson. *Yankee Doodle's Cousins*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin.
John Henry appears as compulsive worker running down the tracks, spitting out tie spikes while wielding two spiking mauls. An engine chases him from behind to mark his prodigious work, page 103.
- 1942 - Roy La Grone for James Cloyd Bowman. *John Henry: The Rambling Black Ulysses*. Chicago, Whitman.
Includes end papers in color and b/w, two plates in color, twelve full-page drawings, and several additional small decorative drawings. Artist attempts to emulate "folk style."
- 1942 - Elizabeth Black Carmer for Carl Carmer. *America Sings*. New York, Knopf.
Two-page drawing in color of John Henry spiking ties into railroad track, pages 172-173.
- 1944 - Glen Rounds for Walter Blair. *Tall Tale America*. New York, Coward-McCann.
Rounds, a student of Thomas Hart Benton, contributes two humorous cartoon-like scenes of John Henry's birth, page 204, and death, 218.

- 1944 - Artist not credited for Marion Cooke. "Tracking Down a Ghost," *Tracks*, 29 (February 1944), 24-27.

Cooke's journalistic story in this magazine for Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad employees asserts that the Big Bend Tunnel is haunted by John Henry's spirit. A sketch of the ghost in front of the west portal heads the story. The drawing is accurate in detail in that it shows twin tunnels - original, now abandoned, and the second one built in 1930, still used.

- 1945 - James Daugherty for Irwin Shapiro. *John Henry and the Double Jointed Steam-Drill*. New York, Messner.

Twenty-seven drawings and decorative title page. Daugherty is first artist to capture fully John Henry's heroism and tragic import. Daugherty transcends Shapiro's text.

- 1946 - Erika Weihs for Alice Schneider. *Tales of Many Lands*. New York, Citadel.

The John Henry selection is credited to Shapiro (above). Weihs offers a chapter-head drawing of John Henry flanked by figures at the New Orleans Mardi Gras Carnival, page 56.

- 1947 - Alice and Martin Provinsen for Margaret Bradford Boni. *The Fireside Book of Folk Songs*. New York, Simon and Schuster.

Stylized "cute" illustration in color of John Henry swinging hammer, old-fashioned steam engine in background, page 170.

- 1948 - Barbara Cooney for Ruth Crawford Seeger. *American Folk Songs for Children*. Garden City, N. Y. Doubleday.

Flowers sprout around an abandoned hammer and railroad tie spike, page 155.

- 1950 - James Daugherty for Carl Carmer. "American Folklore and Its Old-World Background," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia*. Chicago: F. E. Compton, 1950.

Daugherty provides sixteen illustrations for this article for children. The drawing of John Henry contains an unusual detail -- the shaker holds the rock drill with a long-handled blacksmith's tongs, Volume 5, page 208. Note: this feature continues through Compton's for 1977.

- 1950 - Aldren A. Watson for Harold W. Felton. *John Henry and His Hammer*. New York, Knopf.

John Henry in color on book's cloth cover. End papers designed with salmon and blue figures of twin hammermen. Twelve full-page drawings in blue, grey, and black, as well as similar smaller chapter-head and chapter-end drawings. The twelve major drawings are sequential and reduce the hero to friendly familiar terms.

- 1952 - Artist not credited for Robert Murray. "John Henry and the Steam Drill," *Tracks*, 37 (September 1952), 36-40.

A giant John Henry holding two sledge hammers is cheered by his fellow workers in front of the tunnel entry. Murray's piece is fictional.

- 1952 - Forrest Hull. "C & O Tunnel is Folk Song Locale," *Charleston Daily Mail*, 9 November 1952).

Hull's newspaper feature is illustrated by his own "primitive" drawing of John Henry holding two long-handled hammers. In background, another worker mans a steam drill.

- 1954 - Marion Junkin for Marshall Fishwick. "The John Henry Country," *Ford Times*, 46 (October 1954), 50-51.

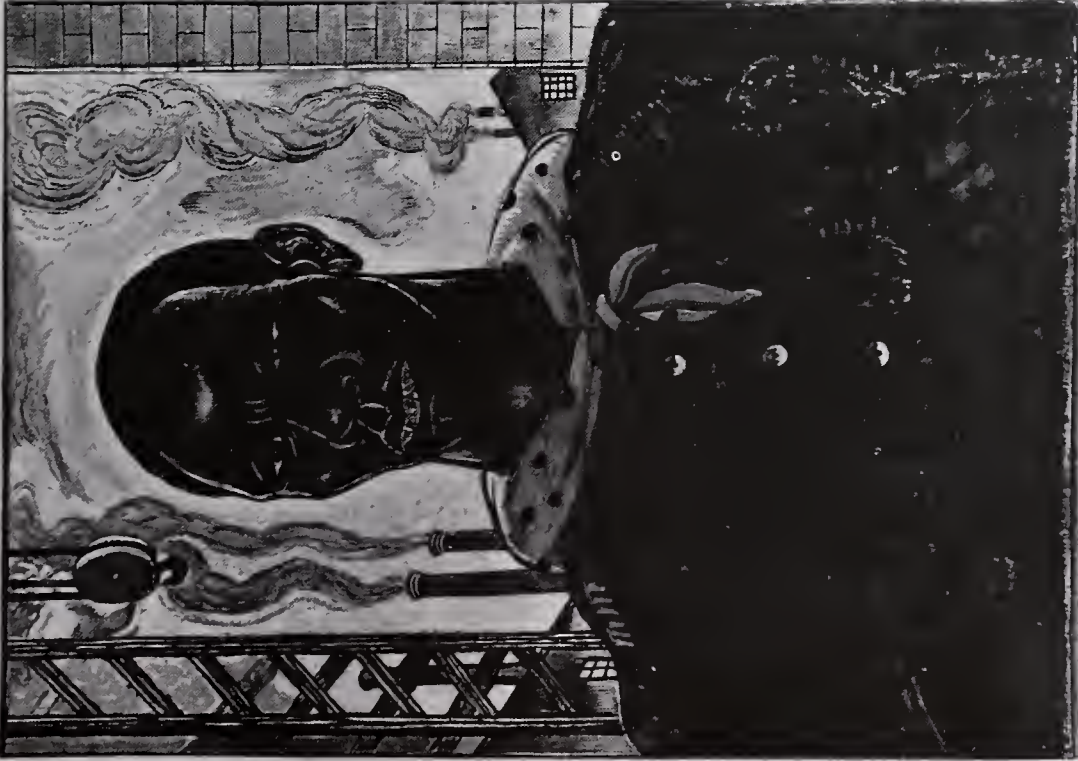
Two colorful paintings are used to illustrate this auto travel note. The east and west portals are shown, each on a verdant mountain side. John Henry is not portrayed.

- 1955 - Artist not credited for James B. Dickson. "Home Grown Hero," *Tracks*, 40 (June 1955), 60-62.

Dickson thanks "the other forty-six states to keep your cotton-pickin' hands off 'n' West Virginia's hero. Developing this theme, the artist's barrel-chested John Henry is surrounded by clutching hands.

- 1958 - Al Schmidt for Irwin Shapiro. *Tall Tales of America*. Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Guild Press.

John Henry chapter preceded by a multi-colored illustration of a brawny young tie spiker, page 96. Four emblematic line drawings also decorate the chapter.



JOHN HENRY—STEEL DRIVING MAN

JOHN HENRY

A Play by Roark Bradford







a box car. They couldn't get the box car into John Henry's house, so they strung up a tent. And they left John Henry with Pollic Ann.



*This ol' steam drill
Chug like thunder,
Drill like lightniin',
Yes, indeed!*





"Now you speakin' to dis black woman"





- 1958 - Marc Simont for Maria Leach. *The Rainbow Book of American Folk Tales and Legends*. Cleveland, World.

A taut and tall John Henry pounds his steel drill into the mountainside while his crouching shaker turns a long steel bit, pages 34-35.

- 1959 - James Daugherty. *American Folklore: A Web of Many Strands*. Washington, D. C., United States Information Service.

This unpagged booklet, distributed overseas, does not identify author of text nor the illustrator. It was preceded by earlier editions illustrated by other artists. Daugherty can be identified by comparison to his previous work. Daugherty's John Henry uses twin hammers to drive a railroad tie spike.

- 1960 - Michael Leonard for Alan Lomax. *The Folk Songs of North America*. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday.

Pen and ink drawing of a giant John Henry straddling a train entering a tunnel, page 552.

- 1961 - James Lewicki. *The Life Treasury of American Folklore*. New York, Time Incorporated.

Some of these brightly colored, melodramatic paintings appeared in *Life*, 31 August 1959 - 22 August 1960. John Henry, in an illustration more subdued than most in this book, swings two hammers at a drill bit in solid rock, page 168.

- 1962 - James Daugherty and Donald McKay for Irwin Shapiro. *Heroes in American Folklore*. New York, Messner.

Reprints from original plates of five separate children's books by Shapiro: Casey Jones, Stormalong, Steamboat Bill (McKay); John Henry, Joe Magarac (Daugherty). For John Henry, Daugherty's frontispiece and preliminary page of ballad stanza from 1945 edition are deleted.

- 1963 - Robert Weaver for Bernard Asbell. "A Man Ain't Nothin' but a Man," *American Heritage*, 14 (October 1963), 34-37, 95.

Blue and white sketch of John Henry and his shaker, who is a white tunnel worker holding a modern drill.

- 1965 - Ezra Jack Keats. *John Henry: An American Legend*. New York, Pantheon.

Large, multi-colored, lithographed book for young children. This work by author/illustrator Keats is both attractive and sensitive. His attention to boiler steam drill is especially imaginative.

- 1966 - Gordon Laite for Adele deLeeuw. *John Henry: Steel-Drivin' Man*. Champaign, Garrard.

Multi-colored, lithographed book for young children. Comic drawings make up frontispiece, title page, and end papers which show John Henry as a river roustabout as well as a tunnel driller competing with steam drill.

- 1966 - Richard M. Powers for Adrien Stoutenburg. *American Tall Tales*. New York, Viking.

Eight double-page drawings for each tale. John Henry swings hammer while shaker holds drill, pages 96-97.

- 1968 - Richard Lowe for J. Mason Brewer. *American Negro Folklore*. Chicago, Quadrangle Books.

Pencil sketch of pensive hammerman printed on light brown paper, page 202.

- 1969 - Artist not credited for Hank Burchard. "In Quest of the Historical John Henry," *Washington Post*, Potomac section, 24 August 1969).

Burchard's article includes a composite ballad and a sepia-printed silhouette of John Henry and his kneeling shaker. However, the major illustrative value is provided by Linda Bartlett who contributes thirteen color photos of the tunnel site as well as of old-timers interviewed by Burchard.

- 1969 - Darrell Wiskur for R. Conrad Stein. *Steel-Driving Man: The Legend of John Henry*. Chicago, Children's Press.

A sensitive and copiously illustrated book holding full-page drawings (yellow and b/w) of John Henry at work and in competition with a steam drill. Wiskur is careful in representing dress appropriate to the 1870s.

- 1971 - Raymond Burns for Wyatt Blassingame. *John Henry and Paul Bunyan Play Baseball*. Champaign, Garrard.

This book for young children turns the traditional John Henry into a popular culture hero. Burns, trained as a comic strip artist, offers a number of preposterous drawings in color.

- 1971 - Marcia Ogilvie for Marie Boette. *Singa Hipsy Doodle and Other Folk Songs of West Virginia*. Parsons, W.V., McClain Printing.

A pencil sketch of a hammerman on a track precedes the John Henry ballad, page 54.

- 1971 - Richard Cuffari for Paul Glass. *Songs and Stories of Afro-Americans*. New York, Grossett and Dunlap.

Two pencil sketches of a hammerman, page 56, and his tools, 61.

- 1971 - Artist not credited for Emick Ray. "John Henry: The Steel-Drivin' Man," *Pathway*, 2 (March 1971), 14-17.

A locally published Charleston, West Virginia magazine. Ray's article faced by a realistic drawing of a worker grasping a long-handled hammer. This illustration is one of the few in which the hero is seen as a contemporary or credible construction laborer.

- 1971 - Barbara Ericksen for Albert Scardino. "John Henry," *Milwaukee Journal*, Insight, 26 December 1971).

Scardino's copyrighted article distributed by Associated Press Newsfeatures in the fall and winter of 1971. Some papers, using this feature, added photos. Ericksen's illustration is in color and semi-abstract -- a muscular figure lifts his hammer, a geometric tunnel portal forms background.

- 1973 - Artist not credited for Jeffery Miller. "John Henry," *The Laborer*, 27 (February 1973), 9-14.

Magazine of Laborers International Union of North America. Article opens with a drawing in color of John Henry holding a hammer, page 9. However, the major illustrative value is provided by J. R. Black with nine photographs of tunnel portal, old-timers interviewed by Miller, and of a cover photo of the new roadside statue of John Henry.

Miller's article, with four photos, reprinted in a fifteen-page pamphlet by the Council of the Southern Mountains, Clintwood, Virginia 24228.

- 1974 - Tom Gladden for "Steel Driving Man," *Youth News* (February 1974), 7-9.

An educational magazine published by the American Red Cross -- special folk issue. John Henry, astride a railroad track, wields two sledge hammers in a western desert setting. Dramatic poster colors.

Part II, Sheet Music

(I have been unable to locate much of the published sheet music on John Henry. Of material examined, only these covers hold art work depicting the hero.)

- 1940 - "Careless Love," "I've Tromped All Over," "Got a Head Like a Rock," "Sundown in My Soul"

These four songs published by Chappell, New York, from Roark Bradford's play, *John Henry* (1939). All four covers hold a drawing of a stevedore totin' a cotton bale. This was used previously on cover and as frontispiece of Bradford's published play.

- 1974 - "John Henry"

Song edited and arranged by Walter Ehret for Richmond Music Press, Richmond, Indiana. Cover by June Trip is modern sketch of an erect John Henry.

Part III, LPs

- 1955 - W. S. Harvey (LP jacket drawing). Josh White: *The Story of John Henry* (Electra 123).

Line drawing of John Henry, hammer raised over shoulder and railroad tracks receding in

distance, printed on a yellow and red jacket cover. Liner notes identify this LP as 25th anniversary album, marking Josh White's recording career until 1955.

- 1970 - Leo and Diane Dillon (LP jacket drawing). Ed Begley: *American Tall Tales: John Henry, Joe Magarac* (Caedmon TC 1318).

Multi-color cover of John Henry wielding two hammers to spike railroad ties. Story adapted from Stoutenburg (1966).

Part IV, Films and Film Strips

(Cited here are films which include animated cartoons and films for which promotional art exists. I have seen none of these films.)

- 1941 - *Tall Tales*.

10 minutes, Brandon. Josh White sings "John Henry," Burl Ives sings "Grey Goose," Winston O'Keefe sings "Strawberry Roan," Will Geer provides verbal continuity.

- 1946 - *John Henry and the Inky-Poo*.

1 reel, Paramount Pictures. George Pol, director; Latham Owens and Robert Monroe, continuity.

- 1967 - *John Henry: An American Legend*.

35 mm filmstrip, 1 33" rpm sound disc or 1 cassette, Guidance Associates, New York. Note: This filmstrip is part of a ten-feature multimedia kit, *Folktales Around the World*.

- 1969 - *American Folklore: John Henry*.

35 mm filmstrip, 47 frames in color, 1 12" 33 rpm sound disc, Coronet Instructional Films.

- 1969 - *Tall Tales of America, Look/Listen and Learn: John Henry*.

35 mm filmstrip, 51 frames in color, Joshua Tree Productions.

- 1970 - *John Henry and His Mighty Hammer*.

35 mm filmstrip, 42 frames, Troll Associates.

- 1970 - *Children's Folk Tales: John Henry*.

35 mm filmstrip, 42 frames in color, Miliken Publishing Company.

- 1972 - *John Henry*.

11 minutes, Jerry Weiss/Educational Media.

- 1974 - *American Tall Tale Heroes*.

15 minutes Coronet.

- 1974 - *The Legend of John Henry*.

11 minutes, color, narrative and songs by Roberta Flack, Pyramid Films, Santa Monica. Note: Drawings used in film were also used for publicity brochures. Additionally, Pyramid issued a multi-colored attractive wall poster advertising the film.

- 1974 - *The Legend of John Henry*.

35 mm filmstrip, 113 frames in color. Adapted from Pyramid film by Stephen Bosustow Productions.

Part V, Sculpture

Charles O. Cooper of Williamston, Michigan sculpted John Henry. It was cast in bronze, eight feet high, for the Talcott-Hilldale Ruritan Club. Club members, with the help of a C&O crew erected the statue in Memorial Park above east portal of Big Bend Tunnel on Highway 3 between Talcott and Hilldale,

West Virginia. This statue has been widely photographed, sold in miniatures, and pictured on colored post cards. My list here is restricted to six representative photos.

28 December 1972 - Hinton *Daily News*.

J. E. Faulconer, "The Long-awaited John Henry Statue Is Finally Erected." Two uncredited photos of statue on a C&O flatcar emerging from tunnel portal prior to hoisting to park pedestal are used in *News* on the following day, December 29.

29 December 1972 - Charleston *Gazette*.

George Steele, "John Henry Tall on Park Pedestal." Reporter's photo accompanies his story about arrival of statue at tunnel.

February 1973 - *The Laborer*.

J.R. Black cover photo of statue for article, "John Henry," by Jeffery Miller.

25 August 1974 - Sunday *Dominion-Post*, Panorama, Morgantown, West Virginia.

Ron Mullens, "His Hammer Is Still, But the Legend Goes On." This feature includes a cover photo by author. A second photo of the statue is complemented by an insert of the plaque which honors Professor Louis Watson Chappell, West Virginia University, for his research on the legend.

May 1976 - *Wonderful West Virginia*.

C. D. "Tony" Hylton, "Medallion to Honor John Henry . . . the Steel Driving Man." Uncredited photo accompanies article.

20 August 1978 - Charleston Sunday *Gazette-Mail*, State Magazine.

Karen Mitchell, "A Festival to Share Talents, Cultures." Reporter's photo accompanies article which described work of Edward Cabbell, director of John Henry Foundation, Princeton, West Virginia. Foundation sponsors annual Labor Day John Henry Festival.

Part VI, Fine Art

Fred Becker

Five wood engravings, semi-abstract in style, each close to 6" x 4" in size, completed 1936-1938. Prepared while Becker was on WPA, Federal Arts Project, this series was housed for many years in the Washington, D. C. Public Library. Transferred in 1967 to the National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution. The titles are:

Birth of John Henry
John Henry Building a Railroad
John Henry Loading Cotton
John Henry's Hand
John Henry's Death

Palmer Hayden.

Twelve oil paintings, each close to 30" x 40", completed between 1944-1954. This "Ballad of John Henry" series is on extended loan from the artist to the National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution.

William Gropper.

A color lithograph 9" x 14" of John Henry as a giant figure, hammer aloft, standing over a railroad track. This appears in a portfolio of ten items titled "American Folklore," copyright 1953 by the artist. I believe John Henry was drawn several times in various maps and booklets by Gropper before 1953. This John Henry may have been issued in a limited-edition lithograph, black and white, as early as 1946.

Part VII, Folk Art

Charlie J. Permelia.

Wood carving of John Henry and shaker holding hand drill. Permelia, a coal miner and railroad worker from Lester, West Virginia, died in 1966. In the years of his retirement after 1959, he began to carve a panoramic display of railroad life, centering on the construction of the Big Bend Tunnel. He created 93 carved figures 12" - 18" tall, and mounted them on twelve 8' plywood panels displaying work sequences.

An excellent introduction to Permelia's work appears in William C. Blizzard, "Working on the Railroad: The Historical Wood Carvings of Charlie J. Permelia," *Goldenseal*, 1 (July 1975), 28-35.

S. L. Jones

Woodcarving of John Henry astride the Big Bend Tunnel. A photo by Bob Combs of this piece, which won the first premium award at the West Virginia State Fair (1972), appears in two-part article by Virginia Steele, "Legends of John Henry," *Wonderful West Virginia*, 36 (October and November 1972).

Part VIII, Miscellaneous

A) Posters

1) "John Henry Hammering Spike"

Reproduction of a painting by Gustav Rehberger. Copyright 1972 by the J & S Publishers and Printers, Miami, Florida 33156.

2) "American Myth Posters"

A set of six colored posters (17" x 22") in modern design with each hero's name linked to a symbol of his legend: John Henry, Paul Bunyan, Pecos Bill, Johnny Appleseed, Joe Magarac, Davy Crockett. Copyright 1973 by the Perfection Form Company, Logan, Iowa 51546.

3) "The Legend of John Henry"

A multi-colored wall poster announcing a film by Pyramid, Santa Monica, 1974.

B) Ceramic Ware

Ceramic decanter of John Henry produced for James Beam Distilling Company, Chicago. Copyright 1972.

C) Cast statuettes

Cast figures of John Henry about 8" tall produced in home workshop by Mrs. Willie B. Perkins of Virginia Beach, Virginia.

Mrs. Perkins, originally from Talcott, West Virginia, became interested in John Henry while a high school student. After interviewing Summers County residents who knew stories of the hero, she began to read local history and folklore. Her longtime interest led her in 1973 (during the centennial of the Big Bend Tunnel's completion) to design and produce the statuettes.

D) Medallion

A silver medallion struck by Washington Mint of Beechwood, Ohio, in 1976 for the Hinton, West Virginia Water Festival. Front shows John Henry and hammer; reverse shows an 1870 vintage steam engine.

E) Slide Show

"Appalachian Adventures," a 19-minute slide show produced by William Plumley at Morris Harvey College, Charleston, West Virginia, 1978. Includes several slides of a paper-mache figure of John Henry made by Doris Lilly, Shady Springs Junior High School, Beaver, West Virginia.

F) Decal

"American Folklore Seals," a set of six colored decals, each 1" x 1½" in size: John Henry, Pecos Bill, Casey Jones, Johnny Appleseed, Huckleberry Finn, Paul Bunyan. Distributed during 1978 by Eureka Novelties, Dunmore, Pennsylvania 18512.

G) T-Shirt

A tan T-shirt stenciled for sale at John Henry Memorial Festival, Beckley, West Virginia about 1974. Figure hammers a drill bit against an orange circular festival logo.

H) Souvenir

Salt and pepper set sold at John Henry Memorial Park on Highway 3 near Talcott, West Va.

-- Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



(Continued from p. 109)

Gus Mack handclapping in the foreground.

-- Wally Smith
Santa Paula, Calif.

Sir:

I wish to report a correction to my article, "Country Music Culture in Central New York State," appearing in JEMFQ #48, and make some comments on Johnny Bond's letter in the same issue concerning George Carney's article in JEMFQ #46. On p. 174 of my article, the caption for the Rhythm Rangers identifies personnel from right to left, rather than the reverse.

Johnny Bond's delineation of country music radio shows highlights serious problems with Carney's conclusions. In my opinion, the article is an excellent guidepost to a methodological opportunity for examining country music. I do not question his findings on the all-country music radio station during the 1970s, but I question his conclusion of a diffusion pattern around arbitrarily set "early nodal centers." Carney's source for these centers is Linnell Gentry's book [An Encyclopedia of Country, Western, and Gospel Music]. Since its appearance, new information on local sources of country music revealing more diverse dissemination than was once believed has come to light. Bond's list provides just a few examples.

To answer Bond's request to fill in information on the Philadelphia radio show, I referred to my own files and to a paper delivered at the 1976 American Folklore Society meeting at Philadelphia by Roderick Roberts at a session co-chaired by me. The Sleepy Hollow Ranch Gang dominated the Philadelphia country music scene during the 1930s through their broadcasts over WFIL prior to the establishment of the "Hayloft Hoedown" on 2 December 1944. The Hoedown broadcasted from the 2000 seat Town Hall at Broad and Race Streets and was carried live by ABC from May 1945 to May 1948. A picture of the Sleepy Hollow Ranch Gang from this period is in The Pictorial History of Country Music, Vol. 2, p. 48. Other local performers regularly ap-

pearing on the Hoedown included Jesse Rogers, the Bland Brothers, Slim and Neil, Mil Spooner, Smokey and Henry, Curley Herdman, the Santa Fe Rangers (who still broadcast out of Lebanon, Pa., with musician/disc jockey Shorty Long), and Sammy Penn and the Willow Ranch Dancers. The Sleepy Hollow Ranch Gang, however, claimed most of the attention on the show. They were comprised of Uncle Elmer Newman, his brother Pancake Pete, their wives--Sophie and Julie (also billed as the Murray Sisters), Monty Rosci, and Pee Wee Miller. They published songbooks and issued commercial recordings (one of which is in my possession: Majestic 11011). Information on other recordings by this group would be appreciated.

I might add my own case for another omission in Carney's scheme of "Early Nodal Centers of Country Music Programming," namely the New York radio stations carrying country acts. Two stand out: 50000 watt clear channel station WGY in Schenectady, NY--which carried Dan Sherman and his family, sponsored by Crazy Water Crystals in the 1920s, and also featured at one time Uncle Ezra (of National Barn Dance fame), Clayton McMichen, and Bradley Kincaid; and station WFDL in Syracuse, which carried regular hill-billy programming, including Brunswick recording artist John McDermott as early as 1924 (for more information on McDermott see my forthcoming article on country music in western New York State in Journal of Country Music), and also carried the Sherman Family in the 1920s and 1930s. Some other influential stations are listed in my article on the Woodhulls in JEMFQ #42 (see especially p. 58)....

Re station KMMJ in Clay Center, Neb., which broadcasted country music as early as the 1930s: through informant and newspaper accounts, I learned that the station regularly featured country music talent of local origin, and had a considerable impact on the area. Of special interest among their performers are Tommy Watson, billed as a "Grand Old Opery[sic] star," and Mike Dosch, billed as a "National Barn Dance artist."

-- Simon J. Bronner
Indiana University
Bloomington, Ind.

Special thanks to David Freeman, not only for providing the valuable sales figures for the 15000 series, but for advice and suggestions for the entire study and its conclusions. Thanks also to Stephen F. Davis, Mary Dean Wolfe, and my research assistant, Betty Dalton, for helping with the statistics.

1 See, for instance, Norm and Dave Cohen's review of John Cohen and Mike Seeger, eds. THE NEW LOST CITY
2 RAMBLERS SONG BOOK in The American Folk Music Occasional, ed. Chris Strachwitz and Pete Welding (New York:
3 Oak Publications, 1970), pp. 78-80.

4 No one to my knowledge has done this, but a start in this direction would be the Check List of Recorded Songs in the English
5 Language In the Archives of American Folk Song to July, 1940 (Washington: Library of Congress, 1942). This list gives,
6 in alphabetical order, all the titles of the numbers recorded by the field workers of the 1930's--though often the LC title for
7 a tune is different from the commercial record's title of the same tune.

8 Many of these have been published in the JEMFQ's continuing series entitled "Commercial Music Documents."

9 John Godrich and Robert M. W. Dixon, Blues and Gospel Records 1902-1942 (London: Storyville Publications, 1969),
10 pp. 15-19. Also see the late Walter C. Allen's fine "Introduction" to Dan Mahony, The Columbia 13/14000-D Series
11 (Stanhope, New Jersey: Walter C. Allen, 1961).

12 Archie Green, "Hillbilly Music: Source and Symbol," JAF, 78 (July-September 1965), 204-228. Also available as a JEMF
13 reprint.

14 Bill Randle, The Columbia 1-D Series (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Press, 1975).

15 My thanks to Mike Seeger for making available a tape copy of his complete interview with Walker. Part of this interview,
16 somewhat imperfectly transcribed, also appears in Josh Dunson and Ethel Raim, Anthology of American Folk Music
17 (New York: Oak Publications, 1973).

18 A detailed account of this 1931 session appears in Alton Delmore, Truth is Stranger Than Publicity, ed. Charles Wolfe
19 (Nashville: Country Music Foundation Press, 1978), pp. 31-40.

20 See Charles Wolfe, "Ralph Peer at Work: The Victor 1927 Bristol Session," Old Time Music, No. 5 (Summer 1972),
21 pp. 10-15; also see Charles Wolfe's note on Walker's Johnson City session (with advertisement reproduced) in Journal of
22 Country Music, 3 (Fall/Winter 1973).

23 Mahony, The Columbia 13/14000-D Series, op. cit., p. 12.

24 The question of just how typical the Columbia sales were in respect to those of similar old-time issues is difficult to answer
25 with our current limited data. Some sense of perspective is possible, though. In the JEMF files are almost complete sales
26 data for the Asa Martin-Doc Roberts releases on the Gennett and various affiliated labels. These figures (which will later
27 be published in full in a JEMF booklet) reveal that best-selling records by this group on Champion sold just over 20,000, and
28 that the average sales for releases on Supertone (the Sears label) were 4100; on Champion, 5340; and on the original Gennett
29 label, only 335. These figures suggest that Gennett sales were nowhere near those of Columbia. On the other hand, some
30 limited sales data from the Georgia Yellow Hammers' sides on Victor suggest sales approximating those of Columbia; the
31 Yellow Hammers' biggest hit, Victor 20943 ("Picture on the Wall"/"Carolina Girl") topped 100,000, while other non-hit sales
32 hovered around the 10,000 mark. Norm Cohen's remarks in Johnny Bond's recent annotated discography of Jimmie Rodgers
33 (JEMF, 1978) reveal that even Jimmie Rodgers may well have produced only four records that sold over 250,000, and that
34 many of his later releases sold under 50,000 copies.

COMMENTS ON THE SYMPOSIUM

In the immediately preceding paper, Charles Wolfe gives us a cogent analysis of one of the major record series of the 1920s

(Continued on p. 150)

THE ROLE OF ETHNIC RECORD COMPANIES IN CULTURAL MAINTENANCE: A LOOK AT GREYKO

By Kathleen Monahan

Ethnic record companies have played a major role in maintaining the many cultures that comprise America. All of the record companies in the United States have been, in various degrees, ethnic; they have relied heavily upon ethnicity in their increasingly lucrative and ever-expanding popular music businesses or have issued recordings of ethnic music to satisfy the musical tastes of specific American cultural groups. These approaches have not always been mutually exclusive, and the largest companies have utilized both.

A perusal of the 78 rpm record catalogues (1900-1953) of popular music issued by Columbia and Victor reveals that ethnic categories were plentiful; the 1917 indexes compiled by each company show no fewer than twelve ethnic divisions. Many of the songs and dances listed under particular ethnic headings transcended ethnic boundaries to be loved by nearly all Americans. For instance, our traditional New Year song, Robert Burns' "Auld Lang Syne," began its life in Scotland, accompanied Scottish emigrants to America, and has been among the numerous selections included by Columbia and Victor under the heading "Scotch Songs," a classification of American popular music which dates as far back as the late eighteenth-century sheet music days. "The Last Rose of Summer," written by the Irish Thomas Moore to a traditional Irish tune, and "I'll Take You Home Again Kathleen," written and composed in the popular parlor room Irish style by the Virginian Thomas P. Westendorf, were issued numerous times by Columbia, Victor, and many other companies and circulated among Irish Americans and the general public alike. A more recent example of this cross-over phenomenon is Rosemary Clooney's Armenian hit, "Come on a' My House" (Columbia 36467), popular in Armenian-American households as "Yegoor I'm Doonus," written by Saroyan to music by Bagdasarian and performed by Guy Chokoorian and his Anoti Four (Lightning 10). Perhaps the greatest area of cross-over of music from one ethnic group to the public at large has been that of dance music, for almost all of our dances and dance music have originated with individual ethnic groups.

In addition to utilizing old ethnic songs and dances or new pieces composed in America within the style and structure set forth by a particular ethnic group, record companies such as Columbia and Victor have featured musical instruments and the use of dialect in many of their popular recordings. "O'Brien Is Tryin' To Learn To Talk Hawaiian" (Victor 18167), issued in the late teens under a "Comic Song" classification, features an "Irish tenor" (Horace Wright) with a heavy false brogue accompanied by Louise and Ferera on the ukelele and guitar. "Emmett's German Yodel" (Columbia A 575), performed by George P. Watson during the second decade of the twentieth century, is a further example of the use of the popular ethnic gimmick.

Companies such as Columbia and Victor can most readily be perceived as ethnic when one considers the thousands of records pressed by them between 1900 and the early 1950s to appeal to members of specific ethnic groups in America. It is in this capacity that they have most successfully encouraged the continuation of American multiculturalism. By the early 1910s, both Columbia and Victor had created special catalogues to list what they called their "foreign" series, specifically designated for an American market. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries were times of heavy immigration, especially from Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean. Those who made the traumatic journey

made great sacrifices to become American citizens, but, either because of native language preference, a noticeable accent, or an obvious ethnic orientation, they were considered by native English speaking Americans to be foreign. Unfortunately, this pro-English bias stressed in the American cultural ideal is still too often expressed (the September, 1976, listing in *Ethnomusicology*, p. 581, of a recording of the Pittsburgh-based Duquesne Tamburitians under "European recordings" does little to reflect the multicultural nature of American society.)

In the 1910s and 1920s Victor produced more "foreign" records than standard popular discs. Columbia continually reminded dealers that they could make fortunes selling "foreign" records. In most cases the musicians recorded by Columbia and Victor were Americans or residents in America at the time of recording, and in some years over thirty ethnic groups were represented in the catalogues. (In 1919 Columbia included thirty-three.) The songs featured on the 78s are recorded in the language of the home countries; the music often represents a style of music popular in the native land at the time of emigration. Besides Victor and Columbia, Brunswick, Capitol, Decca, Edison, Emerson, Gennett, Silvertone, Sonora, Supertone, Vocalion (Aeolian) and many others have produced ethnic records for a huge market.

The genuinely ethnic record companies, however, are those operated by and/or for members of one or two ethnic groups. The Armenian Armenaphone, Lightning, Marg Sian's, and Vosbikian; the Greek Hellenic; the Italian Style, Italdisc, and Nightingale and the Rumanian Sperry are a small sampling of the companies that produced records for specific ethnic audiences during the 78 rpm era. Some, such as Balkan of Chicago, are still highly successful. In addition, many new companies have come into existence; the Irish Shanachie of the Bronx, the Latvian Kaibala of Oreland, Pennsylvania, and PAV records of McKee's Rocks, Pennsylvania, are just a few. These small companies have satisfied a tremendous need felt by millions of Americans--the need to maintain their ethnic backgrounds. The importance of these enterprises in perpetuating American cultural diversity cannot be overestimated. The purpose of the traditionally based national music presented on these discs is to trigger memories of the homeland--the extent to which it does this determines the degree of its success. Amidst pressures to conform to the one or two major musical styles promoted by the modern American music industry, these tiny cultural institutions have acted as the heartbeat of their constituencies, pumping the traditional rhythms and meters into the communities to allow the cultures to survive. By examining the intricate, many-faceted relationships between one such enterprise and its ethnic constituency, we gain insight into the way in which numerous other record companies have maintained culture through a traditionally based national music. I have depicted graphically some of the interrelationships between Pittsburgh's Greyko Record Company and the many people it serves and who, in turn, serve it (Figure A).

Greyko (letter A) is the second largest, and up until recently undisputedly the largest, of the ten Yugoslavian-American record companies; it has produced 33 LPs (including the first American-made Slovenian LP), many 45s for juke boxes (letters B and C) and fifteen 8-track tapes. A

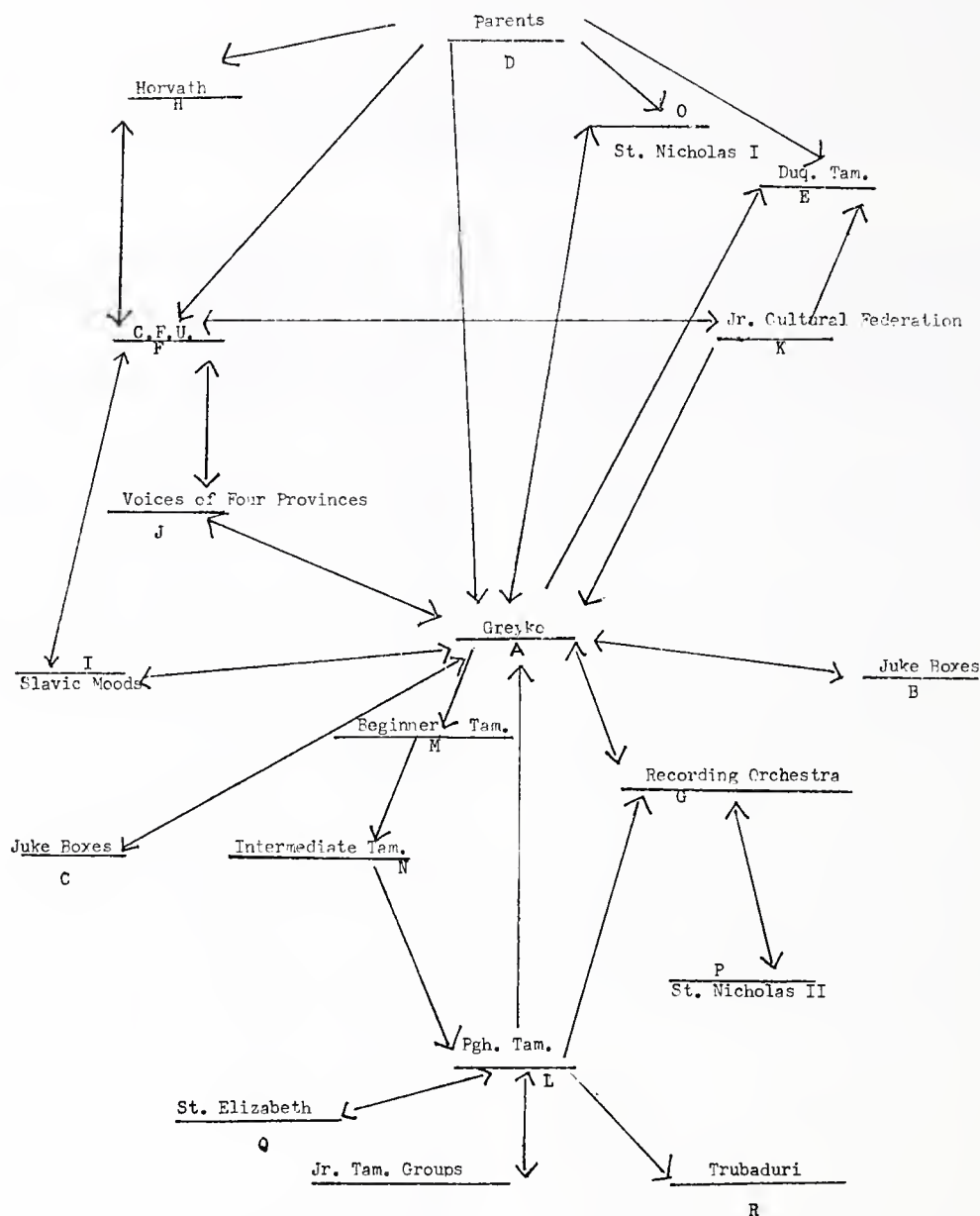


Figure A

Croatian-American, John Gregurich, one of the finest tamburitza players in the United States, who teaches, composes, and sings, formed Greyko in 1952. His parents (Letter D), who immigrated to the coal mining areas outside Pittsburgh, played the tamburitza, the Croatian national instrument.

One must know something of Croatia's political history to understand its need for a national instrument and music. For eight centuries Croatia was dominated by Hungary and had to fight to sustain its cultural and political identity. In addition, it fell victim to Turkish invasions and was subjected to the rule of Austria. Today, as a republic of

Yugoslavia, Croatia continues to assert its national character. Its long history as a minority among larger, more powerful nations forced the people to learn to sustain their cultural traditions under adverse conditions. It is not surprising that in 1847, one year before the Croatian Diet rejected Hungarian laws and attempted to substitute its own, the modern tamburitza development began with the formation of urban-based ensembles. This was a significant transformation for a village instrument that had been played alone or as the accompaniment to song.

The ensemble tradition was brought to America in the

late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by immigrants like John's parents, who strove, as their parents had in Croatia, to preserve a separate ethnic identity. His mother excelled as a tamburitza performer--a rare achievement for women in those days. During World War II Gregurich, while still a high school student, joined the tamburitza of Duquesne University (letter E). The Duquesne Tamburitza, probably the best known American tamburitza group, had been since 1937 the major impetus for encouraging young people to perpetuate the Croatian music traditions. However, since the 1960s the Croatian Fraternal Union of America and Canada (letter F), which has been a primary financial source for the organization, has become increasingly dissatisfied with the way in which the tamburitza tradition has been represented, so dissatisfied that in 1976, for the first time in forty years, they refused to contribute any money to it. However, at the time Gregurich was a member, he was able to continue in the tradition first introduced to him by his parents. After he graduated in 1952, he formed Greyko and at the same time organized the Greyko Recording Orchestra (letter G), of which he is the leading member. The tradition has remained largely unchanged: the group still features southern Slavic tamburitza music similar to that featured in 1935 on Michael Horvath's "Croatian Radio Club" in Pittsburgh (letter H) and featured twelve years later on Nick Trdina's "Slavic Moods" (letter I).

The modern tamburitza tradition is generally conservative. A comparison of the second 78 made by Greyko in 1952 ("Od Srca," GR 102) with an LP version produced twenty years later ("Od Srca, Do Srca," GLPS 1024) shows not even a minor change.

However, innovations do occur in the folk music-tamburitza composition, the style of which was set forth in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The themes of traditionalism as well as change permeate the history of Greyko and are integral aspects of the modern tamburitza tradition.

Greyko began to branch out into the musics of other southern Slavic republics in 1954, when a Slovenian-American, Violet Ruparich, came to Pittsburgh from northern Minnesota, where she had been raised by immigrant parents. She has done graduate work in southern Slavic folk arts and languages at the University of Zagreb. She specializes in traditional dance and song and is a featured soloist on many Greyko albums, many of which are recorded in Yugoslavia.

Walking up the steep narrow steps to the top of the two-story building where Greyko is located, one becomes gradually aware of one of the four tamburitza groups which have been generated by Greyko and consequently rehearse there. At the top is Greyko's tiny record shop, where not only its records but other European and American Slavic records are sold. The store is usually crowded with Slavic Americans, sipping coffee while they discuss politics and various cultural events, half conscious of the rehearsal in progress next door. Greyko creates, accumulates, and disseminates music; it serves also as a genuine social center.

The Greyko Recording Orchestra instigated the formation of additional tamburitza groups, largely through the exposure of its records by numerous Yugoslav-American Radio programs. In addition to Trdina's "Slavic Moods," continuously on the air since 1947, Bernie Luketich's "The Voices of the Four Provinces" (letter J) has broadcast Greyko's music in the Pittsburgh area. Trdina works at Greyko's; both men are national officers of the Croatian Fraternal Union, which has helped to sponsor the radio programs. Over ten years ago the CFU formed the Junior Cultural Federation, a network of American and Canadian tamburitza groups (letter K); the CFU indirectly aids Greyko through its financial encouragement of tamburitza ensembles, by helping to create a market for Greyko's records, and more directly by promoting radio programs which broadcast Greyko's music. Greyko, in turn, provides the music which serves as a model for other musicians and attracts listeners to the radio programs which advertise cultural and social events.

Fifteen years ago twelve Junior High School students asked Gregurich and Ruparich to help them start their own ensemble (letter L). The resulting group, the Pittsburgh Jr. Tamburitza, gave its first U.S. tour in 1962 and were the first young tamburitza players to tour Europe (first in 1965, then in 1967 and in 1970). According to Trdina, the tamburitza movement in America has far surpassed that in the republics of Yugoslavia. The group has dropped its junior status and now goes by the name Pittsburgh Tamburitza; its performances have acted in no small way to revitalize the movement in the republics as well as to further its popularity in the United States. They made their first record (Pittsburgh Junior Tamburitza, GLP 1006) for Greyko following their first U.S. tour, and it has been frequently played on the Yugoslavian-American radio programs.

By teaching, producing, and disseminating southern Slavic music in America, Greyko has provided a link between two generations. Two early members of the Pittsburgh Tamburitza, Dan Shebetich and John McKennas (who now help comprise the Greyko Recording Orchestra) now co-host "Slavic Moods" with Nick Trdina. He pointed out the significance of this during an interview, when I asked him if he thought interest in ethnicity was growing or waning:

I think it's a growing thing. There was a time when I thought it would die. But with the advent of these junior tamburitza groups that we have scattered, especially here through western Pennsylvania, but they're all over the United States... in our area people started to take an interest in it, and you take someone like Dan, who has been playing the tamburitza since he was eight, he took an active interest in this sort of thing. This makes me real happy because I feel now that I could leave the radio and someone like Dan will continue doing it and I hope that there'll be somebody following him. Today I think we have as many, if not more, listeners than we had when our program first came on the air in 1947.

Ironically, the maintenance of this particular music tradition has led to certain changes in other aspects of southern Slavic music in America. For instance, in Pittsburgh the tamburitza has recently entered the Croatian Catholic churches. Greyko has recently recorded a Croatian Folk Mass at St. Nicholas Catholic Church (letter O), the first Croatian Catholic church in America. (The record is not yet pressed.) St. Nicholas Church in Millvale (letter P), the second oldest Croatian Catholic church, presents a Croatian Christmas Mass and carols at midnight on Christmas Eve, utilizing ten to fifteen tamburitza; one performer is a member of the Greyko Recording Orchestra. The two new co-hosts of "Slavic Moods" perform at St. Elizabeth Church each Sunday (letter Q) before they drive to McKeesport to broadcast their program. The church is the first Slovak Catholic church in America, and its Slovak hymns are sung from tattered hymnals brought by the first Slovak immigrants to Pittsburgh. These hymns are accompanied by pipe organ, guitar, and tamburitza--all instruments unrelated to the Slovak tradition.

A further element of change emanates from Greyko; the same two tamburitza players, Dan Shebetich and John McKennas, and two others have formed the first Croatian-American rock group, the Trubaduri (letter R). They have cut two Greyko records, which are popular on the Yugoslav-American radio programs, and a third is in production. They are booked each week-end for night club and party appearances. (Recently they appeared for the first time in Las Vegas.) Ruparich and Gregurich concede that the venture is a drastic departure from the tradition as practiced by the Greyko Recording Orchestra. They questioned at first the validity of "Tamburitza-Rock," about which Ruparich not long ago explained, "They have taken some of the very old basic ethnic folk songs and have put a modern beat to it and have changed them completely as far as rhythm is concerned... but I think the gratifying factor of the whole thing is that they realize what they are doing, and if there comes a time, which there has, in which they must go back to doing the authentic in the authentic manner,

(Continued on p. 156)

THE EVOLUTION OF FOLK-LYRIC RECORDS

By Harry Oster

I started collecting systematically somewhat by chance when I came to teach composition and sophomore literature in the English Department at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge in 1955. Although I was drawn to Louisiana by its exotic reputation and the fact that they had offered me a job, the thought of field work was a remote plan, burdened as I was with teaching new courses and correcting stacks of compositions. The first semester I was there the English department initiated a series of public lectures which I began with a lecture-concert of Child Ballads. As a result of the success of this event, a long-time member of the department, Nate Caffee, suggested that I should apply to the Research Fund of the Graduate College for funds to collect folklore in Louisiana during the summer, a possibility of which I was not even aware.

To my surprise, I was granted \$500 for expenses, a large sum for someone with a total salary of \$4,000. Since I could use up the money only by travel and filling up tapes, I had to keep on the road hunting and hunting, at first finding nothing; but before long I began to find a profusion of unusual material--ancient French ballads, some of them sung by blacks; Cajun dance music as well as a mass over dead (empty) bottles; Afro-Cajun blues; Afro-French spirituals; a survival of a West African shout ceremony; Anglo-American ballads and play-party songs.

Excited about this abundance of riches, I somehow got the idea that I should issue with my own funds some of the most unusual material on a long-playing record to be called A Sampler of Louisiana Folksongs (1957). I was naively undeterred by the complexities of an enterprise about which I knew nothing. I sent in the master tape to a custom processor with no leader tape between numbers on the assumption that the processor would separate the songs in the mastering. Knowing nothing about jacket production, I had an artist do a lithograph on a stone in the eighteenth century process in which each copy is made individually by cranking the stone downward onto the paper, here a sheet 12" by 24". I then doubled the sheet over and stuck masking tape over two sides--record production as a kind of folk craft. The annotated booklet was mimeographed, hand-assembled, hand-stapled, and masking tape was put over the staples to prevent their scratching the record. Since two other members of the English department (Otis Wheeler and Darwin Schrell) and I had joined forces to start a statewide Louisiana Folklore Society in 1956, I issued the record as the Society's first publication though I paid for all the costs. The hundred records sold quickly, but when it was time for a new edition the design on the lithograph stone melted in the Louisiana heat, and then I went to professional jacket printing and assembling. Encouraged and exhilarated by this beginning, I issued two other records with the Louisiana Folklore Society label--Louisiana Folksong Jambalaya (1958) featuring my own performing of songs I had collected, and Folksongs of the Louisiana Acadians (1959), one side of which was devoted to the eighteenth century and before, the other to the nineteenth century and after. The contact came through Sarah Gertrude Knott, who was running a Louisiana Folk Festival in 1955 in the southwestern part of the state and who introduced me to some of the participants from Grand Mamou. Two of the leaders of the town, lawyer Paul Tate and school-teach Revon Reed, were eager to perpetuate the French tradition of their

town, and they invited me to record their music. I came on numerous weekends, often just letting the tape recorder run while I danced with the townspeople at their fais-dodos. I also rode on a couple of their Mardi Gras celebrations--all day circuits of the town with a band on a sound truck and an entourage of drunken riders, stopping to dance at various farms and beg for the traditional gifts to the maskers of chicken and rice. Once they played the joke on me of putting me on a racing pony, which insisted on galloping to the head of the parade. The booklet for the record was quite elaborate, including a historical sketch, texts and translations, linguistic notes, and annotation of songs, which involved commentary from people in the town and the services of two linguists, a format I continued in several other records. The record was the first twelve-inch LP of Cajun music and won an international prize as a documentary.

For some time I had been wanting to record black group worksongs. Since they had been almost completely eliminated by mechanical cotton pickers, cane cutters, and other technological innovations, worksongs were virtually extinct on farms around the state. I did hear of work gangs doing gleaning in Mississippi of what was left over after the machines had passed through, but I could never get to the right place at the right moment.

Having decided to hunt in the big prison farm at Angola, I started by seeing the Head of Institutions for the state, describing what I wanted to do and asking for specific privileges such as being able to get a convict relieved from work in order for me to interview and record him. He was doubtful about my finding much of interest but granted all my requests (partly influenced no doubt by my representing the main state university) and introduced me to the warden, who was also quite cooperative. The warden suggested that I work first through the Recreation Director and the black spiritual choir, where though I might not find what I was looking for, I could make contact with musicians who knew singers of worksongs. The authorities were generally cheerfully helpful except for one captain; when he saw me shake hands with one of the convicts, he shouted, "What do you mean being polite to scum like that?"

I travelled the fifty mile trip to Angola on many weekends, spent the day, and occasionally stayed all night, bringing with me cigarettes for the convicts and doing errands like bringing one of the old convicts hair dye. I worked most often in the prison camps in which the prisoners lived in dormitories, doing much of the recording in a laundry and an abandoned building for the chronically ill. The worksong tradition was moribund even at Angola where many jobs which could have been mechanized were still done by hand to use up convicts' potentially explosive energies. The younger convicts would say, "We don't want no more of that John Henry stuff. That was for slavery times. We're modren now!" But there was enough for a significant record with some excellent interviews as well as singing from Roosevelt Charles, one of the most creative black informants I encountered, whom I later worked with further when he was paroled and whom I hired for odd jobs. Though the prison worksong tradition was disappearing, I found an abundance of all kinds of other folk music, rich blues and spiritual traditions, including even a New Orleans Mardi Gras Indiana contingent, a black rock-and-roll band, black and white progressive jazz bands, and a white rockabilly band.

I gave guitars to three of the convicts who were excellent bluesmen, Robert Pete Williams, Hogman Maxey, and Guitar Welch. Williams was and is an original, a highly talented innovator and improviser. I helped get him out of prison by writing the governor and the pardon board in his behalf and sending a record--as the Lomaxes had done earlier, with Leadbelly. Robert Pete Williams was sprung after having served less than four years of the life sentence he was supposed to serve for murder.

With all this exciting material, I just had to issue Angola Prisoners' Blues (1959), and Angola Prison Spirituals (1958)--still under the Louisiana Folklore Society label and still paying for the records myself as well as recording, editing the tapes, writing notes, doing cover photographs, supervising printing, handling distribution, making up packages, taking things to the post office, and sending out bills.

When Robert Pete Williams was released, he welcomed me to his circle of friends in Scotlandville, which in turn led to other records--Those Prison Blues: Robert Pete Williams (1959); and Country Negro Jam Sessions (1960), featuring Butch Cage and Willie B. Thomas, but including one track recorded in the mental hospital in Jackson, Louisiana, of a primitive fox chase with the lead performer emitting yelping cries alternating with blowing on a coke bottle, accompanied by a group drumming rhythmic background by striking wooden sticks on wooden blocks. All this time I made no effort to track down performers who had already recorded.

Record reviews were surprisingly enthusiastic--excellent responses in The New York Times, Down Beat, High Fidelity, Journal of American Folklore, the Saturday Review, Le Jazz Hot in France, and even a half-page story in Time. But the sales were always modest, a few hundred records at most, partially because of a lack of means of distribution. Even if people had heard of the records and wanted to find them, they were not available through any of the usual channels in stores, though a few records reached surprisingly remote places in England, France, Australia, and Japan eventually. Later on, in 1964, Jack's Record Cellar in San Francisco was kind enough to take over general distribution of the records.

In order to embark on further publication or records, I borrowed \$5,000 from my brother Edward, who is a businessman in Boston, deposited it in a business bank, then borrowed \$10,000 on the basis of \$5,000 collateral, which enabled me to put out several more records; at this time, late 1959, I dropped the Louisiana Folklore Society label in favor of Folk-Lyric.

Still functioning mainly as a one-man record company, with the help of Richard B. Allen I did two New Orleans albums, Possum Up A Simmon Tree (1959), featuring Snooks Eaglin (reissued in 1961 as New Orleans Washboard Blues), and New Orleans Jazz: Billie and De De Pierce (1960).

In 1959, the Louisiana State University Press agreed to include the records in its book catalogue, which is perhaps a first and a possible path for would-be issuers of field recordings to explore.

In 1958 Kenneth S. Goldstein became a partner who made arrangements for the production of English, Scottish, and Irish material, which included Robert Burns: The Merry Muses of Caledonia, sung by Ewan MacColl (1961); A Garland of Scots Folk songs: Betsy Miller and Ewan MacColl (1960); The Art of the Bagpipe: John Burgess (1960); and some trades from English companies of Folk-Lyric issues in exchange for Finnegan's Wake and Other Irish Folk songs: Dominic Behan (1960); A. L. Lloyd: A Selection from the Penguin Book of English Folk songs (1960); and two records by Peggy Seeger, American Folk songs for Banjo (1960), and Popular Ballads (1961).

In the meantime I had branched out into bluegrass with the discovery of Jim Smoak in Baton Rouge, a brilliant banjo player who had played in Bill Monroe's band. The recording of Jim in Bayou Bluegrass: The Louisiana Honeydrippers (1961) in turn led to my looking up his original teacher, Snuffy Jenkins, in Columbia, South Carolina, a visit which produced Carolina Bluegrass: Snuffy Jenkins and the Hired Hands (1962).

During a trip to New York, in Macon, Georgia, Dick Allen and I recorded the Reverend Pearly Brown, a preacher

and street singer, issued as Rev. Pearly Brown: Georgia Street Singer (1959). A piece of Americana got added to the catalogue in a record produced by two Baton Rouge newsmen--Earl Long: the Last of the Red Hot Papas, colorful remarks and anecdotes by the colorful and eccentric brother of Huey Long. Like the much more famous Huey, Earl had been Governor of Louisiana.

In 1960 I received a Guggenheim Fellowship as a result mostly of the reputation I had acquired through the record company. The fellowship enabled me to do most of the transcribing and writing for Living Country Blues (Detroit: Folklore Associates, 1969). By this time I had mountains of material to write about, so I opted for a change of surroundings to write in my home town, Cambridge, Massachusetts, where incidentally I produced Blues Walk Right In: Sylvia Mars, featuring the singing of a black woman from Georgia. I also spent some months in London writing and getting useful suggestions from two major English blues experts, Paul Oliver and Francis Smith. In addition I leased and sold some Folk-Lyric material to Doug Dobell's 77 Records and an international company, Karl Knudsen's Grammophonpladeforlag, which had general European distribution.

An invitation to serve as M.C. of a folk festival at Cornell University gave me an opportunity to work with and tape Jesse Fuller: Greatest of the Negro Minstrels (1963).

In 1963 I was most fortunate in getting a job at the University of Iowa, where they wanted me to teach folklore, a welcome change from the situation at Louisiana State where the chairman had felt that folklore had no proper place in an English department program.

By this time I was also rather discouraged with trying to sell records. Shortly afterwards Jack's Record Cellar ran out of customers for my records and sent them back. Also numerous other small companies had sprung up which drew on the same limited market which had been available to Folk-Lyric. For several years the Folk-Lyric records gathered dust in my cellar. I did persuade the University of Iowa Press to issue a "monograph"--so they called it in dignified academese--of folk music I had collected in Iowa, Folk Voices of Iowa (1965), a sampling of the major Iowa traditions. And so the wheel had come full circle, and I was beginning in Iowa with the sort of record I had started with in Louisiana though with considerably more expertise.

In a more congenial social environment and in a teaching framework where I had stimulating courses to teach, my mania for producing records subsided. Also I felt that I had said most of what I had to say. In 1970, however, Chris Strachwitz of Arhoolie Records in Berkeley, another one-man company, came along with an offer to buy what was left of Folk-Lyric and re-issue much of the field recordings as well as some unissued material. I was of course delighted to accept. The releases of unissued field recordings produced Louisiana Country Blues: Herman E. Johnson (1972) and Folk songs of the Louisiana Acadians, Vol. II (1975). Since then he has done me the honor of using the Folk-Lyric label for other releases of an ethnic nature.

Some general thoughts about collecting. While there are sound rules of procedure and scholarly system which should attend the recording of folk music and storytelling, collecting is an art which depends on a lot of intangibles which defy codification, despite what one hears from the proponents of the now fashionable scientific approach to folklore. The collector has to build up an intense rapport with his informant, to sense nuances of the situation, to shift the direction of his questioning to fit the subtleties of a delicate situation, sometimes to prime the pump by performing himself, somehow to help sustain an atmosphere in which the informant performs naturally and enthusiastically. The approach also has to be filtered through the personality of the collector, taking into account the special traits of the performer.

For example, blues singers often require some stimulus from whiskey, but the amount may be critical. The delicacy of this balance was strikingly illustrated by an episode which occurred in 1962 in a Philadelphia studio, where Butch Cage, Willie B. Thomas, and I had been invited to appear with the

polished, thoroughly professional, veteran blues recording artist Victoria Spivey in one half-hour segment of a fifteen-part educational television series dealing with the major genres of American folk music. The videotaping dragged on through the morning and into the afternoon--a trying situation for professional performers, often disastrous for unstable amateurs. I carefully doled out to Willie an appropriate amount of whiskey. Early in the session he and Butch Cage gave their peak performances of the day, but there were some technical flaws in the videotaping which necessitated further takes. During the lunch break one of the crew hospitably gave Willie more to drink. By the afternoon session his left hand was slowly groping for the guitar chords. Fortunately, Victoria Spivey's professional aplomb stood us in good stead and she pounded out her piano part in the finale loudly enough

to cover Willie's lapses.

Collecting is both an art and an addiction. If you have been bitten by the bug and have the appropriate daring or foolhardiness to start your own record company, think of Stein's advice in Joseph Conrad's *Lord Jim*:

A man that is born falls into a dream like a man who falls into the sea....The way is to the destructive element submit yourself, and with the exertions of your hands and feet in the water make the deep, deep sea keep you afloat....In the destructive element immerse....to follow the dream....always....to the end.

The end may be bankruptcy, but the young folklorist has little to lose in any case.

-- The University of Iowa
Iowa City, Ia.



(Continued from p. 144)

and early 1930s that offered folk and folk-derived music. While he is cautious in drawing conclusions based on incomplete evidence, I think his study is an important and useful one, and do not expect his major conclusions to be altered when the last bits and pieces of data have been analyzed. To many readers, however, I expect the paper will be unsatisfying simply because they do not have access to a complete Columbia 15000-D series numerical--a regrettable lack that surely will be liquidated in the near future.

Wolfe utilizes available sales figures from Columbia files as a means of evaluating folk esthetic. Yet he is aware of the many pitfalls obstructing such an approach. He points out that "sales" meant sales to dealers, not retail sales; so how many "sales" referred to unused records that lay for years in some distributor's or dealer's warehouse? And, more important, what criteria did customers exercise when they bought the records? Did they but records for dancing? for listening? for filling their children with moral instruction? Wolfe raises the problem of the singer vs. the song as the determining factor in influencing sales. I think some available data can be used to sort out this tangle: namely, sales figures for the same song

issued in the 15000-D series by different artists. There are over 60 such cases. Surely these could give us some clues to the relative importance of the singer and the song; and also might help (in some cases) to establish which side was the more important in boosting sales. Finally, I would question the objectivity of Wolfe's "adjusted average sales" figures, arrived at by discounting the records with sales in excess of 100,000. A more conventional method for presenting such data would be to tabulate the median rather than the mean sales figures.

Finally, most of the other papers deal with small contemporary record companies--including several run by folklorists. Wolfe's problems come back to haunt me as I read these other papers: how many such companies keep accurate sales figures? Or break sales down by type of purchaser (individual or institution) or by region? Will young scholars 30 or 40 years hence face as many question marks in dealing with today's record products as Wolfe did in examining a company of five decades ago?

-- Norm Cohen

BOOK REVIEWS

JIMMIE THE KID. THE LIFE OF JIMMIE RODGERS, by Mike Paris and Chris Comber (London: Eddison Press, 1977), 211 pages. Discography, index, bibliography, illustrations. \$8.95. (Available from *Old Time Music*, 33 Brunswick Gardens, London W8, 4AW England, or from County Sales, Box 191, Floyd, VA.)

THE RECORDINGS OF JIMMIE RODGERS: AN ANNOTATED DISCOGRAPHY, by Johnny Bond. Introduction by Norm Cohen. (Los Angeles: The John Edwards Memorial Foundation, UCLA, 1978.) JEMF Special Series No. 11), 76 pages. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$4.00.

The vapid cliché, "the legendary Jimmie Rodgers," has always seemed to me to have an extraordinarily appropriate double meaning. Certainly Rodgers was a legend in the sense that everybody knew about him, but he was also legend in that a great deal of the information about him had the consistency of legendry: it was vague, contradictory, gossipy, unattributed, uncorroborated, and largely the product of promoters, idolaters, and popular journalists. An amazing amount of misinformation about Rodgers has been promulgated throughout the years and into the present. As recently as a year ago the national magazine *Pickin'* ran an absurd piece of Rodgers that rehashed all the old distortions once again for a new generation of true believers. Now, after years of these half-truths, factoids, publicity tales, and gossip, we are finally starting to get some solid information on Rodgers' life and career. Nolan Porterfield is well along on his massive study of Rodgers (some of which has already been previewed in *JEMFQ*); in the meantime, we have two new books which make giant strides toward giving us a full picture of Rodgers, and which make available at one swoop more new, reliable information about Rodgers than has been available for decades. Furthermore, each of the books, in its own way, makes dramatically apparent both the strengths and shortcomings of the prevailing trends in country music scholarship.

The book by Paris and Comber is a hefty, attractive, hardbound volume that resembles in general design the Studio Vista blues paperbacks of several years back. This is doubtless because Tony Russell, whose skills as an editor and lay-out designers are too often overshadowed by his discographical expertise, has had a hand in both publications. (In fact, I suspect that Russell had a good deal more to do with the final text editing and revision than is indicated by the title page.) Over 100 illustrations dot the text, a number of which appear in print for the first time; there are all kinds of shots of Rodgers, pictures from catalogues, reproductions of record labels, cartoons, sheet music covers, newspaper ads, most reproduced fairly well. The discography runs to 40 pages, and a longish chapter on the influence of Rodgers is good for another 38. The rest of the book tells of Rodgers' career in a neat, straightforward fashion with relatively few digressions; footnotes show that the authors have diligently gathered almost every scrap of reliable published data on Rodgers and fitted it into the chronology. Such a book might easily smell of the lamp, but the prose narrative reads smoothly and is entertaining: no small feat. Mike Paris, a history tutor in a London High School, and Chris Comber, a London insurance executive, have been writing about and playing old time music for a number of years, and have published in a number of journals and magazines.

Johnny Bond's annotated discography of Rodgers is just that: a series of pages describing, session by session, Rodgers' 110-song recording career, and offering comments and annotations for each session. The annotations are in the form of informal notes, generally unrelated, about the songs, the session personnel, what Rodgers was doing at the time, and the quality of the music. Some are the results of Bond's personal research and interviews, others his use of earlier sources (Bill Randle, Brian Rust, John Edwards, and even Paris and Comber), others his consultation with other scholars (Porterfield, Cohen), and still others rely on his own experience as a country musician. When solid discographical sources contradict each other, Bond wisely refrains from dogmatically asserting one over the other; he lets the reader take his choice. In addition to the discography proper, the book includes a pithy introduction by Norm Cohen which is one of the most balanced and perceptive assessments of Rodgers available. Perhaps the most dramatic new information in the book is the set of sales figures for many of the Rodgers' records; these were ferreted out by Dave

Freeman, and their impact, as we will see, can be fairly described as revolutionary. This volume too contains numerous illustrations, including a few not in Paris and Comber. The book, while appealing certainly to fans, is most valuable for the raw data it contains; much of this data will require interpretation and integration into a larger context, but having it available is certainly a useful start.

Since the Paris-Comber book is more ambitious, it is naturally more susceptible to more criticism. The authors seem to have relied almost exclusively on printed sources to the exclusion of fresh interviews and anecdotal material. For most of the "color" in the book, they fall back on Carrie Rodgers' *My Husband, Jimmie Rodgers*. Granted, one can understand a reluctance to rely on a lot of the personal reminiscence that surrounds Rodgers, but if one is going to exclude all such subjective sources, why then be so eager to embrace Mrs. Rodgers' account? There are still dozens of people alive who worked with Rodgers and knew him well, and their testimony, judiciously weighed, could have added immeasurably to the picture sketched by printed sources. Only in the "Jimmie Rodgers in Retrospect" chapter have the authors themselves done any personal interviewing in direct connection with this book. One can, of course, excuse some of this by noting that the authors, being located in England, were working at a handicap; but this was a handicap they assumed when they decided to do the book. Another source generally overlooked is the mass of newspaper stories written on Rodgers in his day; he was incredibly popular, and when he came to a town for a show, it was often good for an interview. Then there are the old files of *Variety* and *Billboard* which have not been plumbed. Over a third of the text of Paris and Comber is taken up with a discography and a section on Rodgers' influence; only 130 pages (including illustration) comprise the biography proper. This might have been considerably swelled had the authors been less conservative in their attitude toward sources.

Ever since John Greenway's influential 1957 article on Rodgers (in *The Journal of American Folklore*), serious students of Rodgers' have been obsessed with the blues component of his singing, to the exclusion of other elements. Both of these new studies manifest this prejudice against the "sentimental" songs Rodgers used. Granted, such songs may not be of interest to doctrinaire folklorists, but a close look at some of the fresh data presented even in these studies reveals that they played no small part in Rodgers' commercial success in the 1920s. Of the 30 sides released by Victor before 1930 -- the sides that made Rodgers' reputation -- fully half were sentimental songs, and only 11 were blues styled. By October 1928, when Ralph Peer admitted that Rodgers had "made it," Victor had released 14 sides, including 6 sentimental songs and 6 blues songs (as well as a ballad and a straight country song "Away Out on the Mountain.") Even when we look at the Rodgers "best-sellers," which the data in Cohen's introduction of the Bond book allow us to do, we see some fascinating results. Jimmie's four top selling records in the 1920s appear to have been Vi 21142 ("Blue Yodel"/"Away Out on the Mountain"), Vi 21757 ("Daddy and Home"/"My Old Pal"), Vi 40014 ("Waiting for a Train"/"Blue Yodel No. 4"), and probably Vi 21574 ("Dear Old Sunny South by the Sea"/"My Little Old Home Down in New Orleans"); two of these records have demonstrably sentimental songs on both sides.* Paris and Comber do mention the non-blues component of Rodgers' success, but they still spend much more time talking about blues singers than they do in discussing at length the contributions of Elsie MacWilliams or of Peer's possible influence on Rodgers' repertoire. (In spite of the fact that he recorded a lot of blues, Peer never respected black singers or black music.) As we learn more and more about old time music of the 1920s, it becomes painfully evident that the old-time songs that are so often appealing to us today were not especially appealing to the original audience of the 1920s; that audience loved sentimental treacle like "Picture on the Wall" and "My Carolina Girl" as much or even more than the hot fiddle breakdowns, the curious ballads, or the raunchy blues.

Both new Rodgers books also reflect another modern prejudice too often foisted on early country music: the deification of the phonograph record. The history of country music is by no means a history of country recordings. While no one can deny the importance of records, it is becoming increasingly recognized that hundreds of influential artists never set foot inside a recording studio, or often recorded in inverse proportion to their musical role of the time. Other artists who did record (such as Rodgers) might well have been as much or more influential in other media, such as publishing, touring, or radio. Still, 80% of country research today is still pegged to discography, and both new Rodgers books fall in line here. Bond's book pretends to be little else except an annotated discography; Paris and Comber's book at times almost seems to jerk along from one recording session to another. Some of this is due to expedience: sessions do give us verifiable dates, places, people, and are natural reference points where no other data are available.

*I arrived at this list by noting Cohen's statement that a Victor executive once reported that only four of JR's records sold over 250,000. We know that Vi 40014 did 365,000, and everyone agrees that Vi 21142 may well have done a million. That leaves two other 1928 releases selling over 250,000; Bob Pinson reports that of these releases, Vi 21757 still shows up for record collectors more often than any other JR disc, and that Vi 21574 would probably run a close second. (Another good bet for the 4th best-seller would be Vi 21291 "Brakeman's Blues"/"Blue Yodel No. 2", which would in fact tip the list to blues sides.)

Still, it is a legitimate question to wonder if his records were all that important to Rodgers' career. After reading both new Rodgers books closely, I still don't have any clear notion of how the man really made his money. I suspect it was with publishing rights and tours, especially after reading the sales figures on Rodgers' recordings. For one of the great lies that is hopefully put to rest in Cohen's introduction to the Bond book is the myth of Jimmie Rodgers' immense record sales. It is quite likely that Rodgers only had one record to go over a million mark, and only four to go over 250,000; after the Depression hit, Rodgers' sales, like everybody's, plummeted, and were often less than 10,000 per record. As Cohen notes, a sale of 250,000 in the limited record market of the late 1920's was still an impressive sale by the standards of the day, when an average country record would sell 20,000-30,000. Furthermore, the vast bulk of Rodgers' sales had occurred by the end of 1929, when only 30 of his eventual 110 recorded songs had been released. (It is also noteworthy that of these 30 most influential sides, the majority had simple guitar or string band accompaniment; only 5 had the uptown orchestral backing that Peer supposedly used to put Rodgers across to a more general, pop audience.) What this suggests is that a lot of the Rodgers' discography may not be all that important in determining the reason for his success, or assessing the foundations of his career. What does seem important -- the long tours, the business arrangements with Peer and Southern Music -- are not really discussed at length in either book.

In spite of these misgivings, though, *Jimmie the Kid* is the fullest, most accurate, and best balanced account we have of Rodgers' career to date, and it should be required reading for anyone interested in American pop music. If the information in it raises more questions than it solves, that is probably due to the state of research in old time music more than anything else. *Jimmie Rodgers: An Annotated Discography* fits hand in glove with the Paris-Comber book: it offers more data on the recordings themselves (release dates, sales figures, a couple of title indexes), and it offers Johnny Bond's judicious insights on why one take was preferred over another, about the musicians and who they were, and about recording techniques. (One feels that Bond, over years of informal talks with people who knew Rodgers, probably has a lot more interesting information on Rodgers that should someday be made available.) The discographies themselves occasionally differ in matters of personnel, and while Paris, Comber, and Russell seem to be more aware of recent discographical research, Bond has the advantage of being able to explain his reasoning at more length. Again, the serious student will want to consult both discographies for details about any one particular recording.

---Charles Wolfe
Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro, Tennessee

TEN THOUSAND GODDAM CATTLE: A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN COWBOY IN SONG, STORY AND VERSE, by Katie Lee (Northland Press, 1976), 254 pp., \$12.50.

Although this book purports to be "a history of the American cowboy in song, story and verse," it is actually far from being that. The book is mostly devoted to Katie Lee's personal adventures in tracking down the origins of the James Grafton Rogers song "Old Dolores," and the location of the town in New Mexico about which the song was written. Written in an anecdotal style, the prose is laden with western "lingo" and salty dialect in an attempt to simulate some kind of "cowboy" authenticity. The book would probably be of as much interest to students of proverbial comparison and folk speech as to students of western song.

The parts of the book which might be of interest to the serious student of cowboy song are the parts devoted to Gail Gardner and Billy Simon, both cowboy singers and composers of well known cowboy songs. Her visits with them do give interesting insights into their personalities and their present life-styles. There are song texts scattered through the book, and a brief song compendium at the end of the book, which gives brief background material on the songs, their tunes, and very brief discographies. Some of the songs are traditional cowboy songs; others are cowboy-like songs of recent composition by revivalist singers.

A two-disc album, entitled *Katie Lee Sings Ten Thousand Goddam Cattle*, containing many of the songs from the book, and intended to accompany the book, is available from Katydid Records. On the album, Katie Lee is accompanied by Travis Edmonson, (of "Bud and Travis" fame), and his son Earl. She performs the songs in a revivalist manner, and the guitar accompaniments, which are not very traditional, detract, rather than add to the presentations. The singing is very stylized and rather affected, and reflects Katie Lee's background as a night club entertainer rather than traditional cowboy influence.

Ten Thousand Goddam Cattle is an enjoyable book, and probably well worth reading for its entertainment value. However, it is not a "history" of the cowboy, in song or otherwise. It is not a

scholarly work, and if one is a serious student of cowboy and western song, this book, and its accompanying record album, have rather little to offer.

---Charlie Seemann
Moorpark College
Moorpark, CA.

RILEY PUCKETT (1894-1946) DISCOGRAPHY, compiled by John Larsen, Tony Russell, and Richard Weize. With a biographical essay by Charles K. Wolfe. Schriften des Archivs für Populäre Musik, Bibliographien und Discographien, Band 8 (Bremen: Archiv für Populäre Musik, 1977); 45 pp., paper covers; indexes; \$4.00. (Available from Archiv für Populäre Musik, Ostertorsteinweg 8, D-2800, Bremen 1, W. Germany).

The appearance of this little pamphlet from West Germany evokes memories of the early years of jazz discography, when the lead in the field was so clearly taken by our European colleagues. The development in the field of hillbilly discography has not been so one-sided, but we would be remiss not to acknowledge the steady stream of contributions from collectors and researchers in Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere. And not the least should we acknowledge that the preparation of a comprehensive hillbilly discography to parallel Dixon & Godrich's work in the field of blues and gospel and Rust's in the field of jazz is at last underway, and under the editorship of an Englishman, Tony Russell. (The work is being undertaken by the Country Music Foundation, with the support of a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts.) The completion of that work should bring a sharp reduction, if not an end, to the need for individual artist discographies, such as have been published in *JEMFQ*, *Old Time Music*, and *Disc Collector*; and in special publications such as the one at hand. But in the meanwhile, such compilations are sure to be warmly received by collectors, fans, and scholars alike.

A Riley Puckett discography poses a full array of methodological problems that will face the editors of the complete hillbilly discography. Puckett recorded alone and with other musicians; he was a regular member of the Skillet Lickers, though the record labels read, at various times, "Gid Tanner and his Skillet Lickers," "Gid Tanner and his Skillet Lickers with Riley Puckett," and "Gid Tanner and his Skillet Lickers with Riley Puckett and Clayton McMichen." He accompanied other artists and was given no label credits. The full hillbilly discography will have to handle such problems as how to arrange recordings by Puckett and McMichen: under the latter name or the former? Are the Skillet Lickers' recordings to be listed under that name or under Gid Tanner? What should one find under the entries for Puckett--only recordings on which he was given label credit, or all recordings on which he appeared? I am looking forward to seeing how Tony Russell and his colleagues resolve these questions, and do not envy them the task.

The compilers of this Puckett discography have chosen to delimit their scope as narrowly as possible, confining themselves to "all recordings...that have either been issued under his own name or with his name, or if the sessions were headed by him. Not included are recordings credited to 'the Skillet Lickers' or 'McMichen's Melody Men'" (p. 15). Since, as noted above, many Skillet Lickers' recordings credited Puckett specifically on the label, this restriction seems difficult to justify--except in that it reduces the compilers' work considerably. The format is a little unusual, but useful. Each entry is begun with an identification number that is carried through the discography from first to last recording (305 entries), and includes a master number, a title, and instrumental/vocal credits. Beneath this on successive lines, one for each release, are master and take numbers, label and release number, and label composer credits. This more spacious format than usual allows room for noting the differences in take numbers and composer credits for the various domestic, overseas, and LP issues. (I would question the value of listing alternate composer credits, though they do reveal the somewhat interesting fact that in general the overseas companies took greater pains to identify proper credits.) A scattering of question marks indicate where exact instrumentation or label credits are not known. The listing is followed by a song title index, an index to composers and authors as printed on the labels, and an index to LP reissues.

Even allowing for the compilers' limited scope, I believe there are several omissions: unissued sides featuring Puckett, details about accompanying artists lacking, several omissions of vocal/instrumentation details; and possibly a few errors in instrumentation. Many of these oversights could easily have been eliminated if the compilers had consulted a few other archives and collectors. I was surprised to find Bill Shores credited with fiddle on several sides from the 22 April 1926 session, since his name had not appeared on any previous Puckett/Skillet Licker discographies. There are a few typographical errors, but none that will cause the reader any perplexities.

Charles Wolfe's excellent 11-page biography summarizes Puckett's career, style, impact, and interaction with other musicians. Wolfe drew upon some of my own early writings about Puckett as well as his own sources, but thereby unwittingly repeated some of my own misconceptions about the North Georgian's career. These errors were corrected (I believe) in an article in *JEMFQ* (#44, pp. 175-84).

that benefitted from conversations Don Nelson and I both had with Puckett's widow, and also with other musicians who knew him.

\$4.00 seems a little high for the size of this publication, but I expect most devotees of old time music from the 1920s and 1930s will not be deterred by the amount. For me, having access to several other discographies that cover the same ground more or less, the principal virtues of this booklet are the indexes; additions that I would hope become regular features of all discographies compiled and published in the future.

-- Norm Cohen

TRAVELLERS' SONGS FROM ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, by Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1977; published jointly with Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., of London). xxi + 387 pp., biblio., indexes; \$21.50.

As the authors note, not since Alice Gillington's *Songs of the Open Road* (1911) has an entire volume been devoted to music of the gypsies and tinkers--or travelers--of the British Isles. This volume contains texts and tunes to 130 songs collected by the authors between 1962 and 1975 from 18 singers, most of whom were born prior to 1920. There are no Romani songs to be found in this collection; all the items are Anglo-Irish songs and ballads sung in straight English or Scots dialect English. Except for the first two sections of Child Ballads and "Additional Traditional Ballads," the arrangement is by type of song: Faithful Lovers, Erotic Songs, Casual Encounters, Hesitant Lovers, Unfaithful Lovers, Family Opposition to Lovers, Soldiers and Sailors, Crime and Criminals, Rural Life, Humorous and Miscellaneous, Travelling Life. American readers will appreciate the identification of every ballad by the letter/number given in Laws' two syllabi (*Native American Balladry* and *American Balladry from British Broad-sides*)--a practice seldom encountered in the works of British folksong scholars. Introductory sections discuss the literature of gypsies and comments on the travelers' history and way of life; comments on the musical style of the singers, and who is a "Singer" as distinct from a "singer;" and brief biographies of the singers whose work is transcribed herein. Each song transcription is preceded by a general headnote discussing the background, provenience, and significance of the item, followed by a bibliography of published and manuscript references.

I find much in this book to recommend it to anyone with a strong interest in traditional British folksong. The layout is pleasing and easy to read; the price probably not unreasonable in today's inflated market. Most of the items are not unusual, though Americanophiles will be pleased to discover that Bob Miller's "Twenty-One Years" has been localized and become traditional in England; as well as in America. The few small faults (in my eyes) are as follows: most important, one would have hoped that in this day and age the references would have included recordings as well as printings--especially considering the backgrounds of the two authors. Although in many cases the authors took pains to summarize the full story in cases where the text presented was badly distorted or abbreviated, in several cases they didn't; furthermore, in some cases they might have noted that the given text was unusual or unrepresentative of the song as generally encountered. Although a glossary of Scots, slang, and other arcane terms is given at the end of the book, some songs had in addition their own glossaries at the end of the transcription. Nevertheless, I still came across terms that should have been glossed somewhere but were not.

--N. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES

The Autumn 1977 issue of *Appalachian Journal* (Vol. 5, No. 1) is a special number subtitled "A Guide to Appalachian Studies," and includes twelve articles on various disciplines: anthropology, archeology, folklore, geography, history, literature, linguistics, music, political science, religion, sociology, and urban Appalachians. The survey of music, by David E. Whisnant, titled "Thicker Than Fiddlers in Hell: Issues and Resources in Appalachian Music" (pp. 103-115), traces briefly the history of folksong and ballad scholarship since the turn of the century, and outlines that work remains to be done. Important publications, archives, and other resources are noted. W. K. McNeil's article on folklore, "Appalachian Folklore Scholarship" (55-64), surveys several genres, in particular, folktales, customs, beliefs, and material culture. Loyal Jones' article, "Studying Mountain Religion" (pp. 125-130) touches briefly on religious music. Several Appendices include (A) an Appalachia Bibliography; (B) A Guide to General Resources; (C) A Guide to Current Periodicals; (D)

an Appalachian Directory; (E) A Selected Bibliography of Unpublished Theses and Dissertations; (F) a Register of teachers/scholars/writers, cross-referenced by discipline; and (G) Suggestions for Research. (Available, a \$5.00 per copy, from *Appalachian Journal*, 132 Sanford Hall, Appalachian State University, Boone, NC 28608.)

The Spring 1977 issue of *Adena (A Journal of the History and Culture of the Ohio Valley)* (Vol. 2, No. 1) includes "The Coon Creek Girl from Red River Gorge: An Interview with Lily May Pennington," by Ellesa Clay High (pp. 44-74), in which the former member of the Coon Creek Girls discusses her youth and musical career, and comments on some musicians and artists she knew or worked with, and on contemporary country music. (Courtesy of Archie Green)

The Summer 1977 issue of *The Atlanta Historical Bulletin* (Vol. 21, No. 2) is a special number subtitled "Not Just Whistlin' Dixie--Atlanta's Music, 1837-1977," and was published as a complement to an exhibit of the same name in the James M. Cox Gallery. Among the articles are: "Not Just Whistlin' Dixie: Atlanta's Music 1837-1977," by Catherine Lynn Frangiamore and Pam Durban, a general survey; "On Stage in Atlanta, 1860-1870," by Peg Gough (pp. 37-58), a survey of opera, concerts, minstrel troupes, and burlesque opera of the decade; "Fiddlers in the Alley: Atlanta as an Early Country Music Center," by John A. Burrison (59-87), focusing in particular on the early fiddlers' conventions and the role of Fiddlin' John Carson, Gid Tanner and the Skillet Lickers, and Rev. Andrew Jenkins; "Atlanta Black Sound: A Survey of Black Music from Atlanta During the Twentieth Century," by Pete Lowry (88-113); and "From Rhythm 'n Blues to Disco: A Broad Overview of Atlanta Pop Music Since 1945," by Jim Pettigrew, Jr. (114-138).

COUNTRY MUSIC, by Brian Chalker, with additional material by Mick Houghton, Chris Salewicz, and Dick Tatham (Secaucus, N.J.: Chartwell Books, 1976; orig. publ. by Phoebus Publ. Co. of London). 99 pp., 9 x 12", price not given. Contents include brief articles on country music, bluegrass, cowboy and western, and cajun music; biographies of Hank Williams; Jim Reeves, Johnny Cash, Tammy Wynette, George Hamilton IV, Waylon Jennings, John Denver, Charlie Rich, Glen Campbell, Kris Kristofferson, Olivia Newton-John, Roger Miller, Chet Atkins, and Emmylou Harris; a history of the Grand Ole Opry, and a section, titled "Country Round-Up," consisting of brief (5-20 lines) of some 110 other artists, mostly from the 1960s and '70s, but a few earlier. Numerous color photos.

POPULAR & ROCK RECORDS, 1948-1978 [Price Guide], 2nd edn. By Jerry Osborne; Bruce Hamilton, editor. (Phoenix: Distributed by O'Sullivan Woodside & Co., 1978). xii + 252 pp., 8½ x 11 in., paper covers; \$7.95. A listing of some 30,000 45 rpm discs and selected 78s, arranged alphabetically by artist and alphabetically by title within each artist listing. For each artist/title are given the record label and release number, the "value" of the disc for (a) good to very good and (b) near mint condition; the year of release. The "near mint" value is (with few exceptions double the "good to very good" value. Other features include brief articles on record collecting, evaluation/pricing; a glossary, a Dealers' and Collectors' directory, and a listing of Elvis Presley tribute records. Also included are many photos of record labels, sleeves, and artists.

THE ILLUSTRATED ENCYCLOPEDIA OF JAZZ, by Brian Case and Stan Britt (Special consultant: Joseph Abend). (New York: Harmony Books, 1978); 224 pp., 8½ x 11½ in., paper covers; \$7.95. Entries for over 400 musicians, with over 150 photographs and 275 record jacket reproductions (in color). Each entry includes a brief biography and comments on musical significance and important recordings, as well as references to important publications, such as biographies and autobiographies. A selective record listing gives LP album titles and labels, but not release numbers. The entries are generally well written and informative, the authors not hesitating to criticize and evaluate where appropriate; for the reason the volume will undoubtedly arouse some adverse criticism on its own. The biographees include, in addition to classic and contemporary jazz figures, a few peripheral (to jazz) blues performers, such as Big Bill Broonzy, Son House, Blind Lemon Jefferson, and Lightnin' Hopkins.

(Continued from p. 147)

they're also aware of this and can do it and do it well. They're leaving each in its respective perspective."

Musical preservation and change are interwoven threads of Greyko's continuous history. Greyko and companies like it have helped in no small way to maintain the many cultures within America; they have provided exciting opportunities for the folklorist who understands the role and relationship of a traditional music to a national one, and its function in an ethnic or immigrant community. The folklorist who is sensitive to these factors can in turn assist the communities in cultural preservation.

-- Tarpon Springs, Fla.

RECORD REVIEWS

COUNTRY MUSIC; SOUTH AND WEST (New World NW 289). Nineteen selections, 18 re-issued from commercial discs of 1929-49, one previously unissued cut from 1975. Selections: CLAYTON McMICHEN: Georgia Wildcat Breakdown; JIMMIE RODGERS: Blue Yodel No. 11, Dreaming with Tears in My Eyes; CARTER FAMILY: Sweet Fern, Gospel Ship; HACKBERRY RAMBLERS: Fais Pas Sa; GENE AUTRY: The Last Roundup; MONROE BROS.: Forgotten Soldier Boy; MILTON BROWN: Ida, Sweet as Apple Cider; BLUE SKY BOYS: There'll Come a Time; PATSY MONTANA: I Wanna Be a Cowboy's Sweetheart; WILF CARTER: The Rescue from Moose River Gold Mine; ROY ACUFF: Railroad Boomer; TED DAFFAN: Born to Lose; HARRY CHOATES: It Won't Be Long; SONS OF THE PIONEERS: Chant of the Wanderer; MERLE TRAVIS: Dark as a Dungeon; BOB WILLS: Cotton Eyed Joe; JOHNNY GIMBLE: Fat Boy Rag. Liner notes, with text transcriptions, discographical data, and references, by Douglas B. Green.

COUNTRY MUSIC IN THE MODERN ERA: 1940s-1970s (New World NW 207). Reissue of 18 commercially recorded selections; EDDY ARNOLD: Bouquet of Roses; LEFTY FRIZZELL: Never No More Blues; RAY PRICE: Much Too Young To Die; HANK SNOW: Squid Jiggin' Ground; Kitty Wells: There's Poison in Your Heart; ERNEST TUBB: Try Me One More Time; PATSY CLINE: Love Letters in the Sand; CHET ATKINS: Jean's Song; ELVIS PRESLEY: Mystery Train; JIM REEVES: Little Ole You; MARTY ROBBINS: Jimmy Martinez; LORETTY LYNN: I'm a Honky-Tonk Girl; JOHNNY CASH: Lorena; BUCK OWENS: Don't Let Her Know; ROGER MILLER: All I Love is You; MERLE HAGGARD: Sing a Sad Song; DOLLY PARTON: Coat of Many Colors; KRIS KRISTOFFERSON: Help Me Make It Through the Night. Liner notes, text transcriptions, discographical data, and references, by William Ivey.

HILLS OF HOME: THIRTY YEARS OF BLUEGRASS (New World NW 225). Eighteen selections, 17 reissued from commercial recordings of 1946-1972; one newly recorded (1976). Selections: BILL MONROE: Why Did You Wander?; FLATT and SCRUGGS: Blue Ridge Cabin Home; STANLEY BROS.: Daniel Prayed; RENO and SMILEY: Love Please Come Home; MAC WISEMAN: You'd Better Wake Up; JIM EANES: Your Old Standby; LONESOME PINE FIDDLERS: 21 Years; BILL CLIFTON: Springhill Disaster; DAVE WOOLUM: Old Age; BILLY BAKER: Blackberry Blossom; JIMMY MARTIN: Hold Whatcha Got; JIM and JESSE: Diesel Train; OSBORNE BROS.: A Pathway of Teardrops; COUNTRY GENTLEMEN: Hills and Home; LONESOME RIVER BOYS: Raise a Ruckus Tonight; EMERSON and WALDRON: Fox on the Run; NEWGRASS REVIVAL: Body and Soul; BLUEGRASS ALL-STARs: Dill Pickles Rag. Liner notes, text transcriptions, discographic data, references, by Neil V. Rosenberg.

GOING DOWN THE VALLEY: VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL STYLES IN FOLK MUSIC FROM THE SOUTH (New World NW 236). Reissue of 18 selections originally commercially recorded between 1926 and 1938. Selections: SHORTBUCKLE ROARK: I Truly Understand You Love Another Man; DaCOSTA WOLTZ'S SOUTHERN BROADCASTERS: Old Joe Clark; SHELOR FAMILY: Billy Grimes the Rover; POPE'S ARKANSAS MOUNTAINEERS: George Washington; BELA LAM: Little Maud; CARTER BROS. and SON: Cotton-Eyed Joe; E. V. STONEMAN and DIXIE MOUNTAINEERS: Going Down the Valley; PERRY COUNTY MUSIC MAKERS: By the Cottage Door; UNCLE DAVE MACON: Carve That Possum; SKILLET LICKERS: Molly Put the Kettle On; NORTH CAROLINA RAMBLERS: Milwaukee Blues; ASHLEY and ABERNATHY: Corrina Corrina; CALLAHAN BROS.: Katie Dear; ALLEN BROS.: A New Salty Dog; FT. WORTH DOUGHBOYS: Nancy Jane; TAYLOR-GRIGGS LOUISIANA MELODY MAKERS: Sweet Rose of Heaven; COON CREEK GIRLS: Banjo Pickin' Girl; MAINER, MORRIS and LEDFORD: Little Maggie. Liner notes, text transcriptions, discographic data, references, by Norm Cohen.

Much hay has been made of the generally dismal response of the record industry to the American Bicentennial celebrations. In general, what has come forth under the bicentennial aegis has reeked of commercialism, with little effort to produce anything of genuine historical value. Only two undertakings easily escape this criticism: the 15-volume set produced by the Library of Congress (5 albums of which were reviewed in a recent JEMFQ; the other 10 will be when they are

available); and the 100-volume set produced for Recorded Anthology of American Music, Inc. (RAAM) by New World Records (NWR). The latter series was conceived several years ago by a group of individuals whose orientation was primarily toward high culture music. A \$4 million grant was made by the Rockefeller Foundation to carry out the ambitious project. In evaluating the results of this gigantic undertaking it should be borne in mind that \$40,000 per LP were made available by the grant--not counting any funds that might be recouped from sales. Now the mention of sales touches on what must be a very sore point. In order to obtain favorable leasing terms from record companies, NWR promised that some 8000 sets of the albums would be produced for free distribution only to selected educational institutions. An additional quantity of sets would be sold to similar educational institutions for a cost of \$195 per set. None of the leased material would be put on sale to the general public; though newly recorded material could be (and has been, at the usual list price for an LP these days). A few record companies refused to agree to New World Records' terms [including, I believe, the Warner-Elektra group, Vanguard, and the Polygram group (Mercury and MGM)]; hence, nothing by these companies can appear on the 100 volumes.

The persuasive intervention of several individuals dedicated to the dissemination of folk and folk-derived musics brought forth a slight change in the original orientation of the program; the net result has been that of the 100 LPs, some 20 or 30 will be of at least passing interest to readers of JEMFQ. In this and the next few issues I shall try to give capsule reviews of the more important of these albums, and give at least bare discographic details of several others. It is with some regrets that I do so, knowing that unless the original agreements can be modified, most of these albums can never be purchased by readers.

Before turning to the individual reviews, I might outline the broad categories of the full set. The largest category is Concert and Art music (naturally, all by American composers). This includes about 25 albums of what would in most cases be regarded as classical music, about 2/3 of which are from new recordings made expressly for this series. Music of the Theater includes a dozen or so musical comedy and opera (mostly archival recordings). An equal number of albums are devoted to jazz, from early ragtime to avant-garde contemporary groups. A half dozen albums cover the white oral tradition from folk to country to bluegrass to urban folk revival. Another half dozen or so can be grouped under the rubric, The Social and Political Scene, and include albums devoted to music from the American Revolutionary period, the Federalist Period, the Civil War, Social Commentary from 1930 to the present, and a few others. Another half dozen are devoted to pop music of the 20th century, including blues and rhythm and blues, pop, and rock and roll. The original scheme allowed for only four albums of non-English language material: two of American Indian, one of Hispanic American, and one of "melting pot" traditions, but the latter has been expanded to two LPs, both to be reviewed in a later issue of JEMFQ.

Each album has been edited by an expert in the appropriate field of music. The format of the packages is a double jacket (though only a single disc in most cases) with liner notes glued in. Most of the albums thus have 6 pages of notes, not including the brief descriptions and contents listings on the back jacket. The cover art is in general quite attractive--even though most of the albums are produced in monochrome (black ink on a pale cream stock). The liner notes include, in general, a general statement about the music and its significance and then comments on each of the artists/selections, with discographic data and text transcriptions (except where copyright restrictions presented insurmountable problems), some black and white photographs, and a reading list and list of pertinent related recordings.

NWR has not skimmed on the amount of music on the discs; most albums have from 22 to 25 minutes per side, and one side of NW 287 exceeds 30 minutes. NWR feels that it has made some sort of technological breakthrough to permit such unusual lengths, but I fear some critical listeners will feel that the effort has not been without a price; in many cases the quality of the recordings is poor compared to the original, and a surprising amount of surface noise appears, considering that the company has access to the original company masters and/or virgin pressings. (This is not to suggest that the company did not have to avail itself of private collectors' libraries in many cases.) In sum, though the overall program has not been without fault, I think it is an important one, and comes closest so far to a unified presentation of all phases of American music of the past two centuries. Educational institutions that have access to a set will be able to put it to good use in classroom situations.

The four albums reviewed here represent the commercial country music traditions of the past half-century: NW 236 examining essentially the early string band tradition; NW 287, hillbilly music as it emerged from the tentative first years of the early 1920s and developed through the 1930s; NW 207, following the story from the immediate post-war years practically to the present. NW 225 surveys bluegrass music; that difficult-to-define commercial medium that started from mainstream country music of the late 1930s but turned sharply back toward the folk tradition while the rest of country music resolutely marched in the direction of the pop market.

Country Music: South and West (NW 287) and Country Music In the Modern Era: 1940s-1970s (NW 207) must be judged as this series' statement of the role of what almost every qualified observer agrees is now one of the principal forms of indigenous American music (I must beg pardon of those who would prefer to confine use of the term "indigenous" to Amerindian music). Are they, then, an adequate statement? In most respects. Doug Green's introductory notes to NW 287 deftly sketch out the essence of country music as an amalgam of popular and folk traditions of the 19th century, first recorded in the early 1920s when Eck Robertson recorded "Sally Goodin" for Victor. (I'm sure Green has flagellated himself thoroughly for inadvertently giving Okeh Records as the company.) A glance at the list of titles and artists demonstrates that we have finally shaken off the bias of so many early commentators on country music history that resulted in almost total neglect of the southwestern tradition; fully half the selections fall outside the Appalachian-Ozark sphere of influence. The important artists are mostly here--Rodgers, Carter Family, Wills, Brown, Acuff, Sons of the Pioneers, and so on (though one could legitimately ask why two selections each for Rodgers and the Carters). The title choice is not always compelling (and any compiler would doubtless have many different selections). In only a few cases are we given an artist's major recording: Carter Family, Patsy Montana, Ted Daffan, and Merle Travis. Some selections are rather atypical of the artist--as Green himself notes in the case of the Monroe Brothers. (I might note that what the text transcription gives as "the battle of Amarn" is almost certainly "the battle of the Marne.") One selection, as has been noted elsewhere, is not what it is stated to be: through a mix-up by CBS engineers, the wrong recording of Autry's "The Last Roundup" was used for this disc. The track heard here was not made in 1933, but much later. In two cases (Acuff and Gimble), the recording has not been previously issued. Whether such an album should indeed stress the major recordings by the major artists is a moot issue. Such an approach would doubtless make the collection most useful for educational purposes in the hands of those who have little or no other resources to draw upon. On the other hand, every compiler wants to please, to some extent, the specialists and collectors, which pulls him in the direction of the rare and the unreissued.

Bill Ivey's liner notes to NW 207 provide a deft if whirlwind sketch of the evolution of country music from the 1940s practically to the present. His initial statement, "Country music is a commercial art," sounds a dominant theme to the album, and the selections are chosen to stress this aspect of the music, yet without fully ignoring the folk roots. Here, for the most part, we are given major hits by the artists represented. The failure of Polygram (MGM) to agree to RAAM's terms accounts for the unfortunate absence of Hank Williams from the collection; the other names are all appropriate. Further, we are served with a strong reminder that many of country music's most successful singers are also skilled songwriters: Tubb, Reeves, Robbins, Lynn, Miller, Parton, and Kristofferson all wrote the songs that they sing. Only a few of the songs are much older than the recordings heard here: Snow's traditional-styled ballad of the 1920s, Cash's Civil War pop song, Cline's 1931 pop song, and Presley's blues lyric. Musically, there are many strong moments in this collection. Frizzell's Jimmie Rodgers piece proves that he was one of the best interpreters in the Rodgers style to make records. Patsy Cline is often described apologetically as having veered too much toward pop music before that was quite fashionable; yet I find her one of the most original and creative vocalists of the 1960s, with an unmatched approach to timing (try singing along with her some time). Roger Miller is justifiably better known as a songwriter than a singer, but on examples such as the one on this LP his performance needs no apology. Dolly Parton's composition shows her ability to draw artistic strength from the domestic virtues of a materially impoverished rural South--not to mention her great skills as a singer. And so on.

Neil V. Rosenberg's compilation, Hills and Home (NW 225), must rank as one of the best single surveys of bluegrass music ever produced. Every major bluegrass band of the 1940s and 1950s is represented; it is difficult to cover the last fifteen years so thoroughly simply because the growing commercial success of bluegrass has multiplied the number of important bands considerably. Rosenberg's two-decade love-affair with the music is evident in his carefully distilled introduction--an excellent summary of the development of the music and of its salient characteristics. Unfortunately, Rosenberg does not (probably for lack of space) give a cogent statement of the difference between bluegrass and other forms of country music; something that would not be needed for most readers of JEMFO; yet I have met many students with only a vague notion that the two were different. I would like to see how Rosenberg handles this question. Some important differences have been noted by others (and by Rosenberg himself elsewhere): the stress on instrumental virtuosity, non-electric instruments, that bluegrass is listening and not a dancing music. It seems to me also that, at least until recently, bluegrass songs have largely avoided the favorite themes of country music--adultery, divorce, and alcohol. In this regard, it would seem that bluegrass has been considerably slower than country music in reflecting the social concerns of what D. K. Wilgus has called the "urban hillbilly"--the generation of southern expatriates who have moved to the major cities fringing the southeast.

Modesty (as well as a few minor dissatisfactions) prevents my heaping indiscriminate praise on Down In the Valley (NW 236). I would, however, like to note that although the album is subtitled

"Vocal and Instrumental Styles in Folk Music From the South," it was not conceived with that theme in mind; otherwise, it would certainly not have been confined to commercial stringband recordings. It was, in fact, viewed primarily as a display of early string band music (and in that sense does indeed cover much the same ground as my earlier anthology, Early Rural String Bands (RCA Victor LPV-552; now out-of-print). Although I had been requested, in making my selections, to insure that at least half the numbers were not currently available on LP, I tried to make it a goal to compile a broad, representative collection that could be used in classrooms as a demonstration-lecture of the varied forms of stringband music and its principal purveyors on commercial discs in the 1920s and 1930s. I leave it to others to judge whether I succeeded.

Vernon Dalhart: OLD TIME SONGS (Davis Unlimited DU 33030). Reissue of 15 selections from 1925-30. Titles: Letter Edged in Black, Little Rosewood Casket, Zeb Turney's Gal, Prisoner's Song, Wreck of the Old 97, My Blue Ridge Mountain Home, Death of Floyd Collins, Frank Dupree, I'll Be With You When the Roses Bloom Again, On the Dixie Bee Line, Little Marian Parker, Billy Richardson's Last Ride, Golden Slippers, Kinnie Wagner, Death of Floyd Collins. Biographical liner notes by Walter D. Haden; song notes by Charles Wolfe.

VERNON DALHART: 1921-1927 (Golden Olden Classics 701). Reissue of 14 recordings of 1921-27. Titles: When the Work's All Done This Fall, Cowboy's Lament, I Wish I Was a Single Girl Again, Can I Sleep In Your Barn Tonight Mister, I Wish I Was Single Again, Lightning Express, I'll Never Forget My Mother, Jesse James, In the Baggage Coach Ahead, Just Tell Them That You Saw Me, Behind These Gray Walls, There's a New Star In Heaven, An Old Fashioned Picture, The Time Will Come.

Vernon Dalhart: THE FIRST SINGING COWBOY (Mark56 793). Reissue of 14 selections originally recorded in 1924-28 for Edison. Titles: The Convict and the Rose, Mother's Grave, There's a New Star in Heaven Tonight, Dream of the Miner's Child, The Old Bureau Drawer, Rovin' Gambler, The Governor's Pardon, That Good Old Country Town, You Can't Blame Me For That, A Memory That Time Cannot Erase, The Hanging of Charles Burger, Behind These Gray Walls, The Mississippi Flood, The Prisoner's Song. Liner notes by Jim Walsh.

Vernon Dalhart: RAILROAD SONGS (Mark56 794). Reissue of 12 selections originally recorded in 1925-29 for Edison. Titles: The Runaway Train, The New River Train, Billy Richardson's Last Ride, The Bum Song No. 2, The Big Rock Candy Mountains, The Wreck of the Number Nine, The Wreck of the Norfolk & Western Cannonball, Casey Jones, Got the Railroad Blues (vocal by Gene Austin), The Wreck of the 1256, The Lightning Express, Can I Sleep In Your Barn Tonight Mister? Liner notes by Jim Walsh.

Readers of JEMFQ have had ample opportunity to familiarize themselves with the recorded career and biography of Vernon Dalhart, one of the most influential singers on record of hillbilly and folk songs in the 1920s. Until recently, only a few scattered examples from his prodigious recorded repertoire have been reissued on LPs. In the past few years, four albums completely devoted to Dalhart have appeared, and it seems appropriate to review them all together.

The Golden Olden Classics album is the least satisfying of the four, both because of the considerable surface noise on several of the cuts used, and also because of the very brief liner notes, which contain many misleading or incorrect statements. The Davis Unlimited album, the first of the four to be issued, is considerably better on both counts, though Charles Wolfe's brief song notes are not quite up to his usual high standards, and have been done further disservice by rather sloppy editing and proofreading.

Mark56 Records, an enterprise of producer George Garabedian, has made arrangements with the Henry Ford Museum, who owns legal rights to Edison recordings, to reissue a wide variety of material originally issued on the Edison label in the 1920s. (An album of material by Cal Stewart [Uncle Josh] will be reviewed in a future issue of JEMFQ.) In view of the meticulous care given reissues of other Edison material that have involved the Edison Laboratories at Syracuse, these albums are a technological disappointment. While the original discs (or cylinders) used are quite free of surface noise, imperfections due to warpage are evident, the sound quality seems strangely distorted, and the transfers have often been made at much too fast a speed (shifting the apparent pitch upwards by as much as a quarter-tone). Apart from the misnomer of "The First Singing Cowboy [on Records]" Mark56 793 includes a good cross section of Dalhart's non-cowboy songs done in his country style. (We have yet to hear on LP a reissue of Dalhart's quite different concert-hall style.) Mark56 794 samples Dalhart's many railroad song recordings (though lacking the historically important Edison version of "Wreck of the Old 97"), with one number by Gene Austin thrown in for some reason. Jim Walsh, world-renowned authority on pioneer recording artists, offers many interesting comments on the songs, but not from the perspective of a folk musicologist.

-- N.C.

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6. "An Introduction to Bluegrass," by L. Mayne Smith. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 78 (1965).
9. "Hillbilly Records and Tune Transcriptions," by Judith McCulloh. From *Western Folklore*, 26 (1967).
10. "Some Child Ballads on Hillbilly Records," by Judith McCulloh. From *Folklore and Society: Essays in Honor of Benj. A. Botkin* (Hatboro, Pa., Folklore Associates 1966).
11. "From Sound to Style: The Emergence of Bluegrass," by Neil V. Rosenberg. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 80 (1967).
12. "The Technique of Variation in an American Fiddle Tune," by Linda C. Burman (Hall). From *Ethnomusicology*, 12 (1968).
13. "Great Grandma," by John I. White. From *Western Folklore*, 27 (1968), and "A Ballad in Search of It's Author," by John I. White. From *Western American Literature*, 2 (1967).
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15. "Railroad Folksongs on Record--A Survey," by Norm Cohen. From *New York Folklore Quarterly*, 26 (1970).
16. "Country-Western Music and the Urban Hillbilly," by D. K. Wilgus. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 83 (1970).
- 17-25. Under the title "Commercially Disseminated Folk Music: Sources and Background," issue of *Western Folklore* -----OUT OF PRINT----- 1968, Eugene Earle, Norm Cohen, Archie Green, Joseph H. Jackson, Guthrie T. Meade, Jr., and Bill Malone. Available bound as a set only.
26. "Hear Those Beautiful Sacred Tunes," by Archie Green. From *1970 Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council*.
27. "Some Problems with Musical Public-domain Materials under United States Copyright Law as Illustrated Mainly by the Recent Folk-Song Revival," by O. Wayne Coon. From *Copyright Law Symposium (Number Nineteen)* (New York, Columbia University Press 1971).
28. "The Repertory and Style of a Country Singer: Johnny Cash," by Frederick E. Danker. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 85 (1972).
29. "Country Music: Ballad of the Silent Majority," by Paul DiMaggio, Richard A. Peterson, and Jack Esco, Jr. From *The Sounds of Social Change* (Chicago, Rand McNally & Co. 1972).
30. "Robert W. Gordon and the Second Wreck of 'Old 97'," by Norm Cohen. From *Journal of American Folklore*, 87 (1974).
31. "Keep on the Sunny Side of Life: Pattern and Religious Expression in Bluegrass Gospel Music," by Howard Wight Marshall. From *New York Folklore Quarterly*, 30 (1974).
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34. "Single-Industry Firm to Conglomerate Synergistics: Alternative Strategies for Selling Insurance and Country Music," a study of the impact of National Life and Accident Insurance Co. on the Grand Ole Opry, by Richard A. Peterson. From *Growing Metropolis: Aspects of Development in Nashville* (Vanderbilt University Press, 1975).

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THE JEMF

The John Edwards Memorial Foundation is an archive and research center located in the Folklore and Mythology Center of the University of California at Los Angeles. It is chartered as an educational non-profit corporation, supported by gifts and contributions.

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"SWEETHEARTS OF THE HILLS": WOMEN IN EARLY COUNTRY MUSIC

By Robert Coltman

Interest has quickened in the part played by women singers, players and entertainers in country music. The outlines of the matter become fairly clear with the arrival of the 1940s, when it became not too unconventional for a Molly O'Day or a Cousin Emmy to get up at four a.m. and go to a semidarkened radio studio to make music with a bunch of men. Since about the same period, women's role in country music has begun to be, for some women at least, on a rough par with men's.

It has been difficult, however, in part because of the inaccessibility of pre-1940 recorded source materials, to assess women's earlier role.¹ Hence arguments pro and con about the part women played in the first two decades of commercial country music have at times threatened to degenerate into a feminist-antifeminist *cause celebre*. Recently some efforts have been made to achieve perspective^{2,3}; but as yet a comprehensive picture has been lacking.

This article tries to sketch that picture. For the general reader it may bring some surprises. The proportion of women country singers who reached record between about 1922 and 1942 appears smaller than many devotees may have hoped. On the other hand their contributions were remarkable in many ways, exerting an effect out of proportion to their numbers. It can be argued that women's presence helped change the nature of country music by 1940 in directions that, if the field had been left to men, might never have been taken.

It should be stated at the outset that the scope of this article, and the incompleteness of available information, together permit no more here than a rough survey of the territory, and an indication of the great deal of spadework left to be done. For the most part the surviving women country artists of the 1920s and 1930s remain unqueried about -- some of them may never have thought about -- the questions I raise. Many of my suggestions are based on impressions gathered during time spent in the South and in rural society elsewhere, and remain to be confirmed or refuted by new evidence. Hence I have tried to be cautious in my assertions. I hope, at

least, that fresh thinking and research can be stimulated in an area which for too long has been left to cliché, chauvinism and hasty half-truths.

*

Numerically women were greatly in the minority among recorded country musicians before World War Two drained the country of its men and the vacuum in radio entertainment as elsewhere had to be filled by enterprising women. Let us begin with some admittedly rough statistics for the pre-Depression era. I have heard 377 distinct individual artists and groups on country recordings made between 1922 and 1931. Of these, 12, or just over 3%, were women soloists or all-woman groups. Seventeen groups, or just under 5%, featured women as soloists or gave them equal billing with men. No woman can be said, in that day, to have led her own country band, unless Samantha Bumgarner's fiddle-banjo duets with Eva Davis be considered a band. At least 16 groups, or about 5%, are known to have used women as accompanists or backup vocalists (this number is sure to grow with growth in our knowledge about early country band personnel). Relatively few of these women can clearly be perceived to have been acting for themselves.

It was not so elsewhere. Opera had its Glucks and Galli-Curcis, the vaudeville stage its Ada Joneses. Among blacks, women, in part liberated by the long breakup of the black family, were pioneering popular blues singing. Among Hawaiian song-and-dance stars women fronted acts; Toots Paka and Irene West were two who led troupes of their own. Even on the WLS Barn Dance Grace Wilson had her own act; Wilson, however, was not a country singer except by association, but rather a middle-of-the-road singer of sentimental ditties for middle-class urban consumption, a type of entertainment which was always an important feature of WLS.

Admittedly women's struggle for individuality and freedom in American society was at an early stage. Not so long ago Little Egypt had shocked the world with her unseemly display; the right to vote had only been gained in 1920 after an 80-year struggle, and a lot of men and some women thought 1920 was too soon. Should women smoke? Should they drink? Drive? Neck? Dance to jazz? Conduct their own business

affairs? Be artists? Live alone?

Rural whites would have answered No to most of these questions. They had deep-seated reservations about women entertainers. The life of even male musicians seemed to them probably inconsistent with virtue⁴; that a decent woman might want to be a professional singer could have seemed to many people a sign only that she intended to go bad.

Yet this state of affairs could not last indefinitely. For a century or more the most influential traditional singers in the country had been women. Library of Congress and other field recordings from all parts of the United States amply testify to the principal -- not supporting -- role that women played in transmitting songs and singing styles. Rarely, incidentally, do we find instrumentalists among them; picking (for reasons we shall consider) was left as often as not to the men, who in return were likely to leave much of the lyricism and balladry to women. Mothers and daughters sang at home, over the cradle or in the arm-chair, on the porch or at friends' houses, on the way to the barn or the spring, at school or at the preachings. In the main, these were not performances; it was rare for a woman to sing publicly; they were private. Being private, such singing had room to be intensely personal. Here, one suspects, is one root of the "high lonesome sound" that we hear in the singing of a B.F. Shelton or a Bill Monroe: the keening echo of the voices of women singing for themselves.⁵ Those voices, for all that they were kept at home, thus apparently did much to create traditional sound and phrasing as a whole.

Though more remains to be learned about the initial attitudes of the record companies as they encountered the earliest country singing, both the recorded product in the years 1923 through 1925 and the sense of comments by early A&R men suggest that the companies had few preconceptions about what constituted acceptable country music. They were interested in good business, and were willing to learn what that might mean in the rural music context, developing and expressing preferences only later, when they had had a chance to assess the singers and the pickers -- and the response of the market. No evidence of preconceptions about women singers has surfaced either; apparently in the companies' eyes a woman was as good as a man if she could sell as many records.

And so a pair of women were among the first country artists to record.³ Samantha Bumgarner of Sylva, N.C. and her friend Eva Davis took it on themselves to travel to New York in April 1924 to record for Columbia, breaking all sorts of spoken and unspoken taboos. Perhaps only because country music

was new and undefined could they do it with impunity -- because of that, and because Bumgarner had strong emotional support from her husband, who encouraged her in what she was doing. The two played fiddle and banjo and sang rowdy songs and dance tunes and blues. They even called, as for dances, and acted in general like women used to the public. But they scarcely started a trend. No other women's string band would emerge until the Coon Creek Girls were formed thirteen years later.

A more typical role was that of background singer or accompanist. A number of women who would later achieve some prominence began this way: Rosa Lee Carson (Moonshine Kate), Willie Sievers, Hattie Stoneman, Alcyone Bate. Ordinarily they began as members of family groups. The "womenfolk" who sang chorale as part of the Shelor Family of Virginia and the Short-buckle Roark family of Kentucky, who played accompaniment with Virginia's Fiddlin' Powers and Texas' Eck Robertson, were acting as supporting members of a family unit, at no very great remove from the familiar relationships of home. They were properly chaperoned; their menfolks were with them, and responsible for their safety from insult, throughout any touring they might do. The question whether they were capable of taking care of themselves need not come up. Even where women artists developed individual skill, as Carrie Belle Powers was beginning to do, or became featured performers within the family act, as Ruthie and Ann Pickard did, the family structure still framed them (at least as far as the audience's image of the performers was concerned), and the man of the family was still the group's leader. This would hold true to a great degree even in the Carter Family, where the man played no instrument and almost never took a solo; A.P. Carter's muted presence was the guarantee that, as the Carters' programs stated, This Program Is Morally Good.

*

Women soloists in the 1920s were few, and those few can in retrospect be seen as real pioneers, even when they traveled with men or used them as accompanists. Roba Stanley of Dacula, Georgia, only fourteen when she made her records, was encouraged by her fiddler father, who was pleased by her talent and indulged it.⁶ Her alto performances, including "Devilish Mary," a version of "Frankie," the woman's protest "Single Life," a watered-down blues and the first recording of "Railroad Bill," if a little drab-sounding, can in retrospect be seen as breaking utterly new ground: there were no models to show her how a country girl should sound on records. Stanley's performances are notable for insertion of verses from the woman's viewpoint, often composed by herself -- as in "All Night Long":

I feel so nervous from the strain
till I can sleep no more,



ROBA STANLEY



Clockwise from upper left: The Carter Family, with Sara and Maybelle; Fiddlin' John Carson and his Virginia Reelers, with Moonshine Kate; Roba Stanley; The Stoneman Family, with Hattie Stoneman

I get to thinking of my boy till
I often walk the floor ...

She was not, in other words, content to accept the going (men's) version. Flora Noles, another early Okeh artist, produced poignant performances, including a very good "Little Mohee," with an antique, artless singing style, while Ruth and Wanda Neal made up an early parlor-style duet. Bess Pennington, with her halting vocals utterly unused to accompaniment, was the least professional of all, though by far the most impressive singer. More professional was the warm, hushed singing of Billie Maxwell, billed as the Cow Girl Singer and the first of that ilk to record. Connie Sides, the Giddens Sisters and the Southland Ladies' Quartette can be named among other early performers on what was pejoratively termed the "distaff side."

Undoubtedly early women country performers, actual or potential, suffered from a string band as well as a sex bias. Record companies wanted fiddling and picking in the 20s above everything (other than strong popularizable lead singers). It must have appeared to some women that the only way they could get to record, or perform publicly, was to play with a string band -- and many of them were not willing to do that, or not able to; country, like city, dance music was, and remained, a male-dominated field, for reasons we shall attempt to examine.⁷ In any case, the string bands that admitted women were relatively few.

Those that did admit women cast them in a supporting, "helpmeet" role, which seems to have felt right to both sexes, especially in the family bands, whose pattern of relationships resembled that of the traditional (patriarchal) family, with the man at the head and the womenfolks and children helping out. Ernest Stoneman was always proud of the contributions of his wife Hattie, who was recording with him by 1925 (he remembered their first record together, Silver Bell/Pretty Snow Dear (sic) for Gennett, August 1925, as the first hillbilly records made by a woman in New York) and intermittently continued with his growing act while she raised their amazing brood of children. Hattie herself remained silent, her views unrecorded throughout her long life. She would never emerge as a solo singer of any prominence, but both she and her sister Irma Frost were good vocalists in the plaintive, scrawny hill manner, adding great effect in duets with Stoneman and Eck Dunford, and in the Stonemans' fine ensemble renditions of popular hymns.

There were other women working in family groups. In Atlanta Irene and Mary Lee Eskew were seconding their stepfather Andrew Jenkins in his gospel singing. Fiddlin' John

Carson began bringing along his daughter Rosa Lee to play guitar. In Nashville early fiddlers had accompaniment by young women -- Uncle Jimmy Thompson by his niece Eva Thompson Jones (she was photographed at his knee with adoring filial gaze, in the mold of the proper miss of an even earlier era), Theron Hale by his daughters Elizabeth and Mary Ruth, J.D. McFarlane by his daughter, Ed Poplin by pianist Rose Woods. As yet, however, the women who trod the country stage were little more than decorative helpers.

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What changed all this, of course, was the emergence in 1927 of a female duet whose vocal and instrumental style made a striking impact on all country music. Sara Carter with her cousin Maybelle, the former with one of the greatest voices ever recorded, the latter singing and creating a devastating new guitar sound, can be matched for influence in the 20s only by Jimmie Rodgers. They were avant-garde. And yet they built upon a marriage of hard instrumental rhythms, derived from rural dance, with the kind of singing practiced in the well-established and ordinarily genteel "parlor" tradition.

"Parlor style" is neither well documented nor easy to define, though its legacy of songs, at least, is large and familiar. Such glimpses of the past as we can obtain hint that one of the popular amusements for young country women almost since Colonial days was singing at home. (Young men did it too, but were just as likely to assemble outside the home and undertake a more scallywaggy type of music. In this context the distinction, recently advanced by Anne and Norm Cohen⁸, of rural music in an "assembly" tradition from that in the "domestic" tradition, with the great contrast in purpose, attitude and life-style that difference suggests, is useful.) Such singing took place in the parlor -- or, in poorer homes, in whatever was the "front room," and served for visiting. Young men who brought their rough selves indoors in pursuit of beauty were expected to moderate their music as well as their manners.

In this genteel setting a sentimental, sometimes mawkish repertoire took root. Because it so often accompanied social occasions, especially if there was more than one daughter in the house, it favored duetting. When did harmonizing enter the picture? Or was it there from the beginning? We don't know. Instances of unison duets are not uncommon in southern field recordings even as late as the 1940s. On the other hand itinerant singing-teachers were bringing the rudiments of formal music to the backwoods circuits as long as a century ago; and the part-singing of churches goes back even further, though we cannot tell how influential it was in a backwoods environment (served rather by circuit-riders than by established

churches) whose hymn-singing may have begun by being unharmonized.

By the early 1920s, at any rate, duet harmonizing in a gentle, even undemonstrative manner seems to have been firmly established. The harmonies were mostly in thirds, setting aside the older, starker fourths and fifths. It is probably significant that the earliest renowned exponents of this kind of singing in the commercial period, Lester MacFarland and Robert A. Gardner, a talented and imaginative folk-pop duo on radio in the early 1920s and on records by 1926, were of small-town origin and blind. Sheltered from the rowdier masculine activities by their affliction, their associations were probably those of many of the more fortunate blind people: genteel men and women, educators, ministers, close family. Their music, pleasant but a little delicate, prefiguring that of Bradley Kincaid, betrays a genteel -- "parlor" style -- origin. The parlor idiom was, however, to be entirely remade by the Carters, who gave it brawn, substance, distinction and a cutting edge, based on their unself-conscious intensity, their absolute earnestness, that fixed their sound memorably in every hearer's mind.

The two Carter women, establishing a musical dynasty which perseveres today, served as a continual reminder to country women that a woman could distinguish herself in music without demeaning herself or becoming cheap. Their demeanor was serious; their voices radiated strength and character, and they created an impression quite different from the typical woman entertainer's. A diva might have lovers, be frivolous or fetching, conduct her own affairs as she saw fit and damn the world. The Carter women were not that kind of personality, or country music might have modernized faster than it did. They preserved a sense of stillness, of purpose, of being apart from the entertainment world. Behind them, always, stood the enigmatic figure of A.P., who spoke for them on stage, managed their traveling and engagements, and perhaps shielded them. Yet their audiences on radio and records could not see or hear A.P. They heard two women singing a boss style of music, on their own.

The Carters' success brought a number of other women to the fore -- more or less obscure women who had been singing locally with husbands or brothers. Mrs. J.W. Baker, said to be a Carter relative, was one; she and her husband had the impersonal style of the old street balladeers. Closer to the parlor tradition were a striking duet, Ruth Donaldson and Helen Jepsen, whose sacred and sentimental performances for Gennett with steel guitar are muted, with tremulous clarity -- the sound of women still conscious of their "place." The Carters' music, however, most

assuredly did not know its place. It reached, it demanded, it declared. It spoke volumes.

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There were more groups in which women came to life musically -- the Foreman Family, Bill and Belle Reed, Selma and Dewey Hays, and pre-eminently the Blue Ridge Mountain Singers, an arch duet in the Carter mold bringing the old parlor style to an apex of burning beauty. All these seem to have been retiring individuals, never emerging from anonymity on their few records. Inevitably, however, some women among those attracted to country music (we must remember how many women despised and disapproved of rural music) would take a leaf from the books of the professional entertainers, and "come out" as personalities in their own right.

In eastern Tennessee at least one young woman had been working hard over the guitar. What Maybelle Carter was doing had loosened the strings of tradition; some people no longer believed that facility on a musical instrument wasn't fitting for a decent girl. (In Duggannon, Virginia, Carrie Belle Powers, enchanted with Byrd Moore's tricks with rhythm and melody, got Moore to teach her some. Her father, Fiddlin' Cowan Powers, was less enchanted; tired of boarding Moore, he threw him out.)⁹

Willie Sievers of Clinton, Tennessee, was encouraged in her skill.¹⁰ As the daughter of Fiddlin' Bill Sievers she was in demand as an accompanist. But Willie, perhaps the first definable "liberated woman" of country music, was not content to provide a mute inglorious second. She was ambitious, and when Sievers' Tennessee Ramblers traveled to fiddling contests Willie could take on the men guitarists and beat them, playing her guitar (reputedly) behind her head and behind her back and with her toes, playing dressed in tiny skirts or in the grass outfit of a hula queen -- a daring figure, petite and forward, and undoubtedly one of the finest country guitarists of her time.

Rosa Lee Carson could boast no such proficiency; she played an indifferent guitar and a little banjo, and when she sang her voice was not exactly mellifluous. But she is the progenitress of the line of country comedienness which reaches forward through Lulu Belle Wise-man, Cousin Emmy and Cousin Rachel Veach to Minnie Pearl. Rosa Lee, beginning as her father's accompanist, tried her wings little by little, taking a flat-voiced solo here and there. In 1928 she emerged on her own. A big shambling loose-limbed girl with a sharp voice and a ready smile, she acquired a new stage personality as Moonshine Kate, with a brand of sass that made an effective competitor to the popular talking records done by the Skillet Lickers. Kate went on jawing at Fiddlin' John Carson's lumpish old man until finally, in their Bluebird recordings in 1934, John would

always start by hollering "This is old Fiddlin' John Himself, with Moonshine Kate -- look out, here she comes!" You might conclude -- and you might be right -- that Kate was the one a good many people came to see. What one would give to see a movie of their act! In the winter of 1930-31, near the end of their Okeh recording period, Kate did some spunky, lazy, swooping solo singing in a comic vocal style that helped define the idiom in which women comics would be working for years:

My man's a jolly railroad man,
folks all call him Shorty,
He never worked at anything else,
tomorrow he'll be forty.
An engineer is what he is, for
him I'll go the limit,
So try and beat him if you can,
his engine's never timid.11

No other comedienne of the time seems to have made quite so much headway. Only a little was heard from Josie Ellers, a crack-voiced Daisy Duck who sang with the little-known and little-recorded William Rexroat, an associate of Emory Arthur. The common feature of all Rexroat's songs was their departure from the usual -- the recording of "We Shall Wear A Crown" begins with the exhortation "Come on, good people, come on ... give us a little piece of money." Ellers' sides are plain as an old shoe and a lot funnier (side comments by Rexroat):

I may not be overly handsome
(You're not!)
But one thing I purty well know,
I'm nicer than one of my neighbors
Why has a magnificent beau.

I'm dying (she's dying), I'm
dying (she's dying) ...
To love and be loved in return.

This kind of vulnerability to gibe and low comedy, however, was not something most women singers in the 20s were willing to cultivate. More common was the kind of singing done by

Della Hatfield, wife of Emory Arthur, who joined him for duets on sentimental pieces. Her voice is mournful and harsh, yet shows traces of influence from the popular styles of the day. We know nothing about her.

In gospel music, if anywhere, women singers found the going easiest. Gospel singing was a defined role; it had the odor of sanctity. A woman traveling to make music on the Lord's business was taken to be among God-fearing and thus theoretically safe people. The Carter Family themselves were in good part sacred singers. Other performers, women among them, traveled strictly the gospel circuit; of these we can know only a few, for hundreds must be unrecorded and unremembered. One bears mention: Olive Boone, who with Reverend

Edward Boone recorded for Gennett in 1930. Possibly she was finding the strictures of devout singing a little confining, for her voice had nearly a flapper's lift and twist.

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Southern women were by no means incapable of stronger stuff, as we have seen; and there was fire to come. There were hints everywhere if you looked hard -- something in the tone of voice, perhaps -- that women were ready to do something that even the Carters had not done: emerge as persons in the public eye, as independent fashioners of their own destinies. Some of them must have been asking themselves who, after all, country music was for -- who was its real audience.

I suspect radio executives, by about 1930, were asking themselves the same thing -- and discovering that the real audience was, or could be, women (and children) -- the people who were around the house more than anybody else. Radio in the mid-20s was in a precarious position. Its impact was startling; flip the switch and a barrelful of uninvited strangers filled your living room, doing unpredictable things and conveying an utterly foreign life style. If the radio was not to be rejected in country households, it must be civilized. (It ordinarily stood, be it noted, in the parlor.) Once daytime programming began, tailoring program and advertising content to women (far more than to men) became a necessity.

This must have helped spell the end of the string band era. Women's tastes, as I have noted, differed, and were perceived to differ, from men's, leaning toward softer, sweeter music and away from "hoedown" stuff, which now, on records and radio, began to decline. This is not the place to open the floodgates on the subject of that difference in taste (there is a fair-sized book in it for anybody who wants to write one), but the difference is real, though it has never been without its notable exceptions. It is, of course, socially caused and not innate. Women in the traditional and even the post-traditional society were encouraged in all sorts of subtle ways to shun music perceived as "wild," "loud," "rowdy," just as they were encouraged to shun the wild living with which such music was thought to be associated. Interesting rural instrumental music was a closed book to most women as a result, and few women cultivated instrumental technique; it was simply not a pinnacle in their value systems as it was for young men.

Not that women couldn't cut a rug. Girls of courting age loved to dance, and for dancing purposes, under the chaperoned circumstances of a community get-together, they found fiddling and banjo-picking just fine. But it was largely done for, not by them. Ensemble playing for its own sake was something a little less safe, associated with the kind of carrying

on that only boys were allowed to do -- congregating at the general store, whistling, whittling, telling stories, hanging around at the railroad and logging and mining camps and eventually on street corners and in "cabarets." Such gatherings were off limits to proper young women. Thus Jean Ritchie, talking about the time when the railroad came through near her Viper, Kentucky home:

Mom wouldn't talk about letting us girls go off down the road to watch, though I was pretty near woman grown ... Lot of the boys used to hang about the men's shacks of an evening, listen to their talk and their songs ... Wasn't long fore the boys of a Sunday, sitting around with their banjers, were singing "John Henry" as perty as you please, like they'd been singing it a hundred years.¹²

Stressing that the railroad workers' repertoire and style were new, Ritchie seems to suggest that the gap between male and female music was just then widening drastically, as boys became exposed to rapid social and musical change while girls were rather systematically shielded from it. Marriage, motherhood, housekeeping, religion, only tended to confirm this more reserved taste in country women, and in their daughters, so that, say, Rosa Lee Carson, in her taste for the sheer headlong excitement of the newly developing "tear-down" playing, was something of an anomaly.

Meanwhile, however, contrary forces were at work. Notably, the Depression (which arrived in the South years before Black Friday) began to cut deep among whites. In an era of unemployment, unable to earn respect as heads of households, poor white men in the South and elsewhere began to lose influence, just as black men had lost primacy through slavery and dispossession. Such prudence, such restraint as men might attempt to exercise on "their" women was the more easily thrown off; and it became correspondingly easier for women to act, if they liked, for themselves.

A sign of the times was the courageous trip to New York City by Aunt Molly Jackson in 1931 to rally support for the Kentucky miners -- a truer picture of the flash and temper of some southern women than anything that had yet gone onto wax. But even on wax a stir was starting. Few noticed, probably; but many of the most successful songs Jimmie Rodgers had been recording since 1928 had been lyricized by Elsie McWilliams, his sister-in-law. A woman write a Blue Yodel? Yes, she states, though label credits were missing.¹³ And songs like "My Old Pal," "My Little Old Home Down in New Orleans," "Never No Mo' Blues," "Everybody Does It In

Hawaii," "My Rough and Rowdy Ways" and "Mississippi River Blues" -- well over two dozen in all.

For many women it seems simply to have been a matter of realizing that it could be done. In western Tennessee in 1930, a brother-sister team (or, since it is appropriate in this case, let us say a sister-brother team), who had had some local success singing for friends and neighbors, managed to attract the attention of the Vocalion record company. The driving force of the partnership was the woman.¹⁴ Nonnie Smith was singing songs she had written herself, to the accompaniment of a big handmade zither apparently based on the design of the old commercial "American Zithers" sold door-to-door after the turn of the century. Her imagination led her to illuminate the oldtime sentimental forms with some very up-to-date crossing harmonies and her own compact lyric sense. It was an advance on the parlor style -- even on the Carter Family style -- an antique pattern shot through with modern highlights. How influential was it? Probably not very. The records sold only moderately well judging by numbers of surviving copies; the radio was having much more effect on changing musical style. But in Presson's work can be heard the sound of things to come.

The stringy, unpolished voices of Fred and Gertrude Gossett, also recorded in 1930, uncannily foreshadow the music of four or five years later. Their Go Bury Me Beneath the Willow/All The Good Times Are Passed And Gone are innovative man-woman country duets -- we shall see many, many more of them. The lyrics too are familiar; they will be among the prime songs of the Monroe Brothers. The Gossetts were on the scene very early with a breakaway style, in which the woman's role was, really for the first time in country music, on a par with the man's, for both, no matter who took the melody and who the harmony, shared in making the duet work, and neither predominated.

Something was brewing. Men who had never done so before were including women in their acts. Whatever his reason, companionship, an attempt at new combinations to try to outplay his talented circle, a sincere attachment to the woman's voice or whatever, Doc Roberts' and Asa Martin's associate Dick Parman brought a Miss Lowell Smith with him to a Gennett session in 1930. Smith's piano and uke supplemented Parman's sketchy guitar, and their rather finehaired records bombed. The Georgia fiddler Earl Johnson, owner of a romping stringband style, brought his wife with him to his last Okeh session and they sang hymns together. The sound is uncharacteristically lonely, as if for some years Johnson had been drowning out a darker, homier, less blithe side of his personality. Somehow it is as if one prominent musician is bidding public



Clockwise from upper left: Linda Parker; Dolly and Millie Good (The Girls of the Golden West); The Coon Creek Girls (l to r: Rosie Ledford, Violet Kohlet, Lily May Ledford, Daisy Lange); The Bowman Sisters, Pauline (l) and Jennie

farewell to the days of stomps and howls.

In the meantime the man widely accounted the pioneer of western big-band country music, Otto Gray, was beginning by the end of the 20s to give his wife Momie greater prominence as vocalist. Even Bob Wills never did that. Momie's performances on ancient sentimental ditties are a surprising, still fresh blend of warmth and awkwardness against a heavy, sonorous accompaniment; she is feeling her way, doing what no woman country singer has had to do before: front a band. There is simplicity and conviction in her voice. There is no telling how far all this might have gone had Gray not been killed in a tragic road accident, whereupon his band simply fell apart.

Even in a stronghold of male-dominated society, Cajun southwest Louisiana, the voice of a woman was heard. The "Carter Family" of Cajun music during the 20s were Joseph Falcon and his wife Cleoma Breaux Falcon, herself the scion of a remarkable musical family. To my knowledge she was the only woman Cajun singer to record before World War Two. But with her murky, mournful style she was a presence which dominated, helping to create the way in which, transcending the old-French mold, modern Cajun singers would treat a song.

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Sometime in the depths of the Depression, helped along by the rapid cross-fertilization of styles for which radio was responsible, a kind of country music began to emerge which sounded quite unlike what had gone before. We hear the new note in the work of a pair of sisters from Glasgow, Kentucky -- Jo and Alma Taylor, the Kentucky Girls. Their single record for Columbia uses the same class of approach as the Carter Family's, but the sound is utterly different. The Kentucky Girls had an eager, girlish sweetness, an edged mellowness that was gripping. It had some of the contemporaneity of the pop radio singing of the day.

At about the same time Milly and Dolly Good, from Muleshoe, Texas, were beginning their career on the suddenly accessible medium of local radio. Moving to WLS after making their first big impact in Saint Louis and on Mexican border radio, they, as the Girls of the Golden West, must be credited both with bringing the female duet style of the 30s to its peak and with making a place for women in the country sunshine. They were probably the first women entertainers on anything like a career scale who were truly acting for themselves alone. They were also, probably, the first women to accentuate the cowgirl image on a modern scale. They expanded the definition of country music to include the modern romantic duet, tremulous and full-

throated, coy and arch, aspersive and loving by turns. The prominent female trios and quartets of the 1940s and after unquestionably owe them a debt for their recasting of a once stiff style into fluid vernacular. Mastering a florid style of duet yodeling, the Goods produced music heavy on atmosphere, technically superb, and far ahead of its time. The carefully chosen notes drop into the ear with exquisite effect over guitar runs that are deliberately simple. In another decade or so this would sound like the finest possible campfire singing, relaxed and melodious. In the 30s, almost without precedent, it must have sounded startlingly gorgeous.

Nor did the Girls of the Golden West feel constrained to the old "woman's repertoire" of sacred and sentimental songs; they appropriated whatever they liked, from "Round Up Time in Texas" and "You Get A Line, I'll Get A Pole" to Harry Lauder's "Roamin' in the Gloamin'." Their trademark was dying falls and rich chords that no one else could do so well; these worked best in lingering, lovely sentimental songs like "I Am Going Back to Mississippi" and "There's A Silver Moon on the Golden Gate." Having found a place to stand on their own two feet between the old and the new, Milly and Dolly Good can be said to have established the independent woman's place in country music so firmly that she could never again be dislodged.

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In 1935 John Lair and the WLS Barn Dance issued a large song folio featuring hits associated with dozens of star performers on that Chicago-based radio series. But 100 WLS Barn Dance Favorites¹⁵ struck a note of sadness. On page 2, following an introduction by Lair, a large black-bordered picture of Linda Parker, "The Little Sunbonnet Girl," appeared over the score to "Bury Me Beneath the Willow," and the book was dedicated to her memory.

In Linda Parker country music may have lost the person best calculated to be its first large-scale solo woman star. Wistful in her pictures, Parker in her single surviving recording for ARC, "I'll Be All Smiles Tonight"/"Take Me Back to Renfro Valley," is a formidable singer, with a tragic heroine's low thrilling voice that is stunning in its impact against the mandolin, guitar, fiddle and string bass of the Cumberland Ridge Runners. These beautiful, affecting sides show a woman equipped to capture hearts as readily as any big band thrush. From the folio we can derive more of her repertoire -- mostly romantic and sentimental pieces like "Mary of the Wild Moor," "Down in My Old Cabin Home," and "Belle of the Mohawk Vale" together with songs like the Carter Family's "Single Girl" and a topical

piece, "Lost on the Lady Elgin" -- and she surely sang like an angel. But unless any radio transcriptions can be found, the rest of Linda Parker is beyond recall, and the effects of her untimely death on women's place in country music are incalculable.

Still by 1935 not just a few, but a number of women were becoming, or thinking of becoming, country singers. Just how many there were we won't know until the mammoth job has been done (if it can be done) of tracing the thousands of unknowns who never recorded or otherwise reached more than a local public, who made music on farm hours and wake-up shows and morning frolics and other non-prime-time programs on rural stations throughout the United States from about 1930 onward. We do not even know enough to be able to guess that most such local stations did feature at least one woman singer; though, as the 30s wore onward, the voices of women would become, in station owners' terms, highly marketable wherever local prejudice did not dictate otherwise.

It does not seem unreasonable, however, to surmise that women by the hundreds, at least, were participating in country music on local radio by 1940. That relatively few of these were recorded only reflects the far greater selectivity exercised by record companies in the wake of the Depression. In the 1920s the record companies themselves had screened talent, often issuing records by complete unknowns in an effort to test the market. In the 1930s local radio took over the screening function; and the privilege of recording began to be reserved for artists who had proven themselves somehow, usually via radio. Hence fewer artists overall were recorded in the 30s. Nevertheless, except where transcriptions survive, records are our only primary source for musical sound and style, and one of our few reliable tests of the place of women in what was by now becoming a country music establishment.

Milly and Dolly Good, as the Girls of the Golden West, had played a big part in breaking open the field of country singing for women, and particularly for women duets. Such duets, drawing on the appeal of blended voices and building up repertoire from the innovative kinds of music being done by Cliff Carlisle and the Delmore Brothers, now took center stage. The route to the break from traditional style had been shown in the 1920s by popular duets like the Boswell Sisters. A taste of the Brock Sisters shows uptown phrasing and the instincts of jazz-pop:

Oh, a Knoxville girl'd make a
hound dog lose his trail (2)
And a Chattanooga girl'd make a
tadpole hug a whale,

When you take those blues,
those Broadway blues.

The Bowman sisters, daughters of fiddler Charlie Bowman, were late blossoms of the parlor tradition, languid, breathy and archaic on old favorites, betraying their amateur status. Thelma and Dorothy Smith, appearing with their father and mother on Victor records in 1931 singing old-fashioned renditions of sentimental songs, began in a similar vein. But what a change five years of exposure to current trends can make! Here they are in 1936:

When she shakes a shimmy you
can hear her squeak,
She danced the Black Bottom
till her knees got weak,
She took two steps forward,
one step back,
She put her knees together and
she balled the jack.

The family of Walter Smith had a reasonably aggressive program, which included at various times a dog act, ma-and-pa comedy, and pretty much the gamut of song material.¹⁶ Still this was sassy, daring stuff for post-adolescent girls. One begins to hear faint echoes of "You've come a long way, baby."

As a sidelight, it might be pointed out that children everywhere were beginning to be a feature of country show business. One of the first to be featured on his own merits had been Price Goodson, a fine twelve-year-old mouth harp player and singer with the short-lived North Carolina group Da Costa Woltz's Southern Broadcasters, who recorded in 1928. Child duets got their start on country records with the Reed Children, who may have been the children of Bill and Belle Reed, possibly originating in West Virginia; their 1930 recording of sentimental harmonies is homey and engaging. With the coming of little Georgie Gobel, a pint-sized cowboy who really was a boy, the outgoing trouper Little Jimmie Sizemore and talented children like Tommy Carlisle, country music could boast an appeal to every member of the family.

All this was part of the growing cultivation of country music. That women and children could enter it unafraid meant that it was becoming domesticized; it no longer threatened to break the crockery, tear the curtains and muddy up the rugs. The 30s, above all, were the era during which country music acquired what had been foreshadowed in the music of Vernon Dalhart and Jimmie Rodgers -- sensibility. Even fiddling -- and it must be remembered that one of the most characteristic sounds of the 30s was Arthur Smith's slippery, slangy, squalling bowing -- was enriched and mellowed with smooth guitars. Women were at once, in part, agents of this kind of change, and beneficiaries of it. The once iconoclastic music of the sticks had taken a giant step toward the mainstream.

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It began to be good policy for male groups to include a woman, and not just as a pretty face. Alcyone Bate sang with Jack Shook's Missouri Mountaineers on the Opry. Linda Parker was, until her death, a featured vocalist with Karl and Harty. Meanwhile all-girl acts began to crop up, notably the Overstake Sisters who appeared as the classical-styled Three Little Maids, one of whom, Eva Overstake, would later achieve fame as Jenny Lou Carson; the Amburgey Sisters, one of whom would marry Doc Roberts' son James and become a well-known gospel singer and composer as Martha Carson; the comic dialoguists Sarie and Sally; the Blue Ridge Mountain Girls, the Steelman Sisters, the Leatherman Sisters. Jo and Alma Taylor recorded again, with an exciting, almost pre-bluegrass-sounding band.

Strong, independent women stars who could command an audience and front a band were now emerging. Which is, of course, to say that the door was opening wider, that opportunity was increasing, that the prospects were not so scary, that times had changed. By now a woman thinking of going into professional performing could feel a little more secure: she would not be alone; and even if she met with some sort of lingering disapproval (those who think a virtuous woman should not perform anything in public have not all died off, even today), she would have plenty of company and good moral support.

In the 1920s no country woman had really been able to win stardom on her own, free of male influence, advice, protection. Those who had tried to go it on their own, like Samantha Bumgarner, had not gone very far -- perhaps had not chosen to go very far. Those who had achieved real success -- Sara and Maybelle Carter -- had never stressed themselves as women, indeed cloaked their personalities from the public eye, appearing merely as voices -- reserved, powerful, mysterious; so that today, when people talk loosely about women in early country music, they tend not to think of the Carters at all. Where were the Bessie Smiths and Ma Rainey of the white south? In the 1920s such a likeness was a contradiction in terms. A woman simply did not put herself forward so, did not take her life in her own hands that way, did not present herself in public in that manner.

But the 1930s would be different. The personality of a country woman could emerge as an independent fact; and this was the real breakthrough. Once women had shown -- as the Carters surely had shown -- that they could enter the first rank of country music performers, it remained to be demonstrated that lone women could establish themselves

as autonomous entertainment personalities, acting for themselves rather than being acted upon. That was the task the 1930s accomplished.

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John Lair, mastermind of the WLS country music programs and inventor of the influential Renfro Valley entertainment concept, was a pioneer in developing women singing stars. One of his most ebullient Renfro Valley personalities was widely-traveled Cynthia May Carver, a crackerjack banjo picker, madcap entertainer and shouting singer with a flair for humor and self-promotion. As Cousin Emmy she burst on the entertainment scene with the kind of force that would make way for a Molly O'Day -- but she was far from being the only such discovery. Lair's original bailiwick, WLS, which had always sought to appeal to the whole family more than other barn dance shows, had had a commitment to what might be called equal opportunity in staffing for some years. In this environment that was so hospitable to the rise of women singers arose a woman, Myrtle Cooper, who would become one of country music's top personalities under the name of Lulu Belle.

Rangy, pretty enough to be both funny and flirtatious, and a fine, limber singer, Lulu Belle was paired at first with Red Foley, who had been playing bass with the Cumberland Ridge Runners and was trying to establish himself as a singer and guitarist with a drastically modernized style. At length, however, she gravitated toward Scott Wiseman, who had been going it as a soloist in the Bradley Kincaid mold. That they fell in love and married did not hurt their image a bit; and they began a long and successful career as Lulu Belle and Scotty. The billing, reversing the usual order, is apt: Lulu Belle was the dominant figure in the act, mugging, playing for laughs, initiating playful spats, playing the brash beauty against Scotty's mild cheerful temperament.

They became radioland's favorite country sweethearts. They were pioneering a new kind of singing, a kind of elegant amateur sound that was deliberately not a musical or technical challenge, aiming for the kind of sound any listener might think to make. In later years similar styles would bring fame to singers like Burl Ives and Bob Atcher; already Gene Autry had capitalized on a similar approach. No one, hearing singers like these, could feel that country music was a coterie art. Lulu Belle and Scotty sounded like the couple next door no matter where you lived. Such a sound could not help widening the audience appeal of country well into the supposed domain of popular music.

By contrast the 1930s' biggest woman country star -- very nearly the biggest of either sex -- established herself by communicating the mystery of a homeland, a roman-



Clockwise from upper left: Lulu Belle and Scotty Wiseman; The Montana Cowgirls, with Patsy Montana (1); Hazel and Grady Cole; Wilma Lee and Stoney Cooper

tically lost Western Plains such as had never existed, except in the movies and in the minds of people made desperate by Depression. Rubye Blevins, from Hot Springs, Arkansas, had begun as a radio singer in Hollywood; Stuart Hamblen had named her Patsy Montana, and the name stuck.¹⁷ Her early records etched the theme she would pursue for the rest of her singing career -- a theme which, allied with her determined voice, underscored her independence as an individual:

I'm tired of subways and forty-story
shacks,
I'm a-cravin' the wide-open
range,
Oh, I want to go back, oh please
take me back,
Back to Montana plains.

By 1935 no country music entrepreneur with his eye on the balance sheet could afford to ignore the potential of a woman. In that year Patsy Montana's "I Wanna Be A Cowboy's Sweetheart" had a phenomenal success -- it is often claimed, though so far without firm evidence, to have been a million-seller -- which makes Montana seem not so very unlike today's women superstars. From now on it would seem as natural and laudable for a woman to try for country stardom, to run her own career, as for any man. Individual women attempting this road might still encounter local prejudice, but Patsy Montana had shown beyond question that it could be done. Indeed, as we shall see, where prejudice might have been expected it often failed to materialize; the barriers in many ways simply evaporated, or had not been substantial to begin with.

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A momentary detour into another kind of country -- the portraiture of women in country songs of the 20s and 30s -- uncovers another area crying out for detailed investigation. I cannot do justice here to the range of attitudes and images the songs demonstrate, but again it is worthwhile to sketch in the outlines. There is some reaction, in country song compositions of the period, to the new ascendancy of women, news of which had been trickling in from the urban centers for years. The reaction tends to be scornful; and unlike songs of racial prejudice, which suffered a sudden blight with the coming of radio (which made them seem too blatant), pejorative songs about women, whether comic or gently chiding, flourished in the 30s pretty much as they had in the 20s.

So did the songs of mothers old and grey; sweethearts dead, forlorn, abandoned, untrue or even in rare cases faithful; and all the other familiar female models. They too, I think, reinforced a traditional image of women that was, if not pejorative, at

least prescriptive: a public definition of woman's roles from cradle to grave, falling under the headings of Approval or Disapproval. As a man, you might choose -- or as a woman you might choose to be -- Freckle-Faced Consumptive Sarah Jane or Jimmie Rodgers' High Powered Mama, poor lost (by implication consumptive, and certainly dead) Lillie Dale or My Gal Sal, a Buddy not a Sweetheart or an aggravating beauty Lula Walls. But you must take the consequences -- that was always the terminal message.

The songs of happy love were few, but perhaps they always are. Relatively few songs accorded much dignity to women, or attributed to them much that was admirable -- but the same could be said about most songs characterizing men. Southern rural taste -- indeed southern rural life -- did not conduce to the heroic point of view; the results of this can be seen in every aspect of early country music, from the content of songs to the disarming, unbuttoned, deliberately unprepossessing singing styles that eschewed anything like bravura or elegance.

At a hasty glance, then, the portrait of women in 30s country music seems, at least, to have been lagging behind the advances made by women artists, perpetuating many of the old images into the new era. As happened with blacks and others disadvantaged by social attitudes, it was not uncommon for women to succeed nicely with songs that portrayed their sex in an unfavorable light. We would like to know more about what they thought about that -- or whether they thought about it.

Meanwhile by the middle 30s the presence of a woman in a radio and even a stage act was a definite plus to which southern audiences responded positively, so far as we can now tell. We might ask ourselves how different the case might have been in the more masculinized musical times of the 20s. Suppose the Skillet Lickers had featured, among their enormous roster of floating personnel, a female lead vocalist? Suppose Uncle Dave Macon had partnered with a woman? What if Jimmie Rodgers, instead of merely co-writing songs with Elsie McWilliams, had sought out and developed, say, some "loving gal Lucile" to offset his own singing and playing?

How we feel about that may be nothing more than an index of our personal sets of prejudices. But in the middle 30s that kind of amalgamation was a new commonplace. The man-woman duet was suddenly a reasonable success; and the kind of music it produced was not exactly like the man-man or woman-woman duet. It had an integrated feeling, as of lifework being done by two people working out a couple relationship which, romantic or not, conveyed the quality of a personal bond.¹⁸ Just as a man and woman, marrying, take up a new existence with new

qualities, so this musical marriage produced a slightly different sound with an air of differences fused, of being domesticated and glad to be. It made for new kinds of phrasing and touch -- and by its nature it gave audible shape to sexual equality. For in such a duet one partner could not dominate, or the duet itself failed.

Radio was the place where it went superbly, and the radio mecca was New York. There, in the 30s, some real country singers went, and others who were not primarily country singers rode the crest of the country wave awhile. A multitalented entertainer named Patt Patterson, notable as an imaginative steel guitarist, was making his name as a cowboy singer; sharing the billing was Lois Dexter. Together they made up what might be described as a novelty folk duo. The voices were not particularly blended (in contrast to the close harmony work done with women singers throughout the decade by Carson Robison); this was the country duet at its most disarming, and the duet succeeds more on personality than music.

The sound was very different in the south. In Alabama Dewey Bassett and his wife Gassie, singing together with guitar, produced fine harsh nasal harmonies on songs whose uncertain rhyme scheme and odd-length lines bespeak carelessness of musical convention. Their treatment of the ordinary sentimental material of the day is powerful and a bit odd. In how many southern songs do we hear of neglected mothers?

Do you love me, mother darling?
Don't you never think of me?
Don't you never want to see me
Or press me to your weary heart?

Dewey Bassett's sister Adelle, appearing with the already established McClendon Brothers, was clearly in musical command in her single recording, laying a raw, sometimes tunless authenticity over the McClendons' smooth pleasant sound, and "Georgia Dell's" songs, even that classic antique "Gamblin' on the Sabbath Day," are strikingly personal statements. Less distinctive was the work of Dorsey Dixon's wife Beatrice, of the obscure woman partner of the duo called Uncle Pete and Louise, and of Hazel Cole, wife of the notable songwriter Grady Cole. The latter in her vocal work is earnest and faltering, like a little girl at prayer, but it is the man who plainly leads, not necessarily to the benefit of the performance as a whole.

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Meantime the all-woman duet, in the pattern made fashionable by the Girls of the Golden West, demonstrated some advances in style. The Leatherman Sisters, one of Bluebird's half dozen or so such groups, forsook the by now somewhat typical golden caressing sound for a forceful, driving flat-toned kind of yodeling harmony which recalls the work of the Callahan Brothers. More conven-

tional were Judie and Julie and Carrie Moore-Faye Barrers; each duo, however, added its personal touch. Moore and Barrers used strikingly conceived finger-picked guitar with pop-tinged arrangements. Judie and Julie's low voices reached a degree of emotional intensity seldom matched; their message is interesting in our context, speaking in far more conventional terms than the Bassetts of that dogged figure, the devoted mother:

Her love has been faithful,
her love has been true,
Think first of her always,
she thinks first of you.

Bluebird was discovering stylish, impressive woman singers in other fields as well; the label's blues catalog contained such great voices as Margaret Johnson's and Minnie Wallace's; and in Mexico the border songbird Lydia Mendoza was beginning to make her long string of popular recordings. At home the Bluebird range was eclectic, too; Louisiana Lou, for instance, with her low, muddy-sounding guitar and her sour-toned alto, is one of the finest women exponents of rock-bottom traditional style in the 30s, though she can have had little influence, never emerging from obscurity, and indeed does not sound like a professional singer.

The new Decca label concurred in the general feeling that women were an important part of the current sound. The Rodik Twins and others filled the need for female duets; the Kelly Family, heavy with women's voices, further emphasized the fresh clear sound of sopranos and altos; and in Edith and Sherman Collins Decca found an excellent gospel duet in which the woman led, using a little-girl voice against a tenor harmony. The lovely singing and yodeling of Billie and Allie Flannery was as good as anything the Girls of Golden West had done (well, almost), and their repertoire drew on the same wellsprings:

Come back to the valleys, come
back to the hills,
Come back to the ones that
love you so ...

Ferment and further change appeared on the ARC labels with the arrival of the Canova Family and a woman who would cover more distance over a longer span of time than any other woman country singer of the 30s. Judy Canova, later famed as a rubberfaced clown and a singer whose ties to country music were tenuous at best, came north from Florida with her sister Anne and brother Zeke to record a handful of variety songs -- good, sturdy traditional songs some of them, but done in novelty fashion, with vocal tricks, yodels, and slithery notes. It is not clear whether Anne or Judy sings lead, but the woman's voice is dominant.

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With the coming to prominence of the Kentucky-raised Coon Creek Girls in 1937 the full potential of a versatile all-woman country act became abundantly clear. Once again it was John Lair, one of country music's most tireless promoters and a great friend to woman musicians, who opened the door. Having discovered the fine singer-banjo player Lily May Ledford and her sister Rosie, he was apparently intrigued with the floral names; soon he had recruited Violet Kohler, Daisy Lange and eventually others to form a bouquet of talented musicians and sparkling radio personalities. The musical combination was not just a singing quartet; the Coon Creek Girls were a crackerjack string band capable of music with drive, sweetness or anything in between.

It was a combination that would be imitated -- notably by King artists Mattie, Marthie and Minnie -- but through verve, personality and sheer ability the Coon Creek Girls remain unique to this day. They did what many bands, male and female alike, had not the background to do: combine the up-to-date smartness of a modern country act with deep-dyed certitude of the sounds and techniques of tradition. Songs like "Soldier and the Lady" are remarkable for texture and fidelity to older models; yet their predecessor of Bill Monroe's "Uncle Pen," "Old Uncle Dudy (Keep Fiddlin' On)," is a sprightly, hot-swingy tribute to a fiddler, a tour de force with bits of recitation, cute wrenches of the voice for novelty effects, snatches of old hoedown tunes, and complete command of three or four idioms at once, all of which has the listener on the edge of his chair. Meantime when they return to traditional material such as "Little Birdie" and "Pretty Polly" -- tunes which are terribly hard to do with distinction precisely because they are so common and so overworked -- they are done with the wild, even careless grace of genius, as apt a term in old time music as anywhere.

New sounds were beginning to infuse more familiar forms too. The yodeling female duet would never be the same after Caroline and Mary Jane DeZurik got through with it. Petite and snippy in appearance and sound, these Minnesota women began a series of radio shows for Purina, to which they had brought an odd, funny yodeling technique that sounded like quick little hiccups or, maybe, the clucking of hens. What a find for Purina! The cackling yodels became their trademark, and Cackle Sisters became their stage name, for a while at least, though by the time they joined the WLS crew in 1943 they seem to have returned to calling themselves plain DeZurik Sisters. Whatever the case, they went as near to jazz as yodeling came, comparable in their tricks and dynamics to the startling things the Sons of the Pioneers had now and then done, but quite different in effect --

using close, even precise harmony, but singing in voices that swerved, flashed, skipped through madly varied sequences in which tongue trills, mock-hiccups and voice breaks succeeded each other in bewildering variety.

Given the success of women fronting big bands in the pop swing era, it may seem odd that women did not make much headway in western swing during the 30s (although, emulating the big band sound, they would do so, notably with Bob Wills and Spade Cooley, in the 40s, as occasional lead vocalists.) Perhaps the kind of musical conception on which Milton Brown, Bob Wills, Bill Boyd and others had been working was in the nature of a closed masculine circle. In any case, next to no one had followed up on the lead of early western singers like Billie Maxwell or Momie Gray. One woman had since 1928, however, been energetically sharing the lead in her family band. Louise Massey, from Roswell, New Mexico, had a supple, beautifully controlled singing voice which, while the Massey Family was never really a western swing band, would have suited the demands of that kind of music well. The Masseys featured high-powered, swingy instrumentals based on old fiddle tunes and a fair number of pop-styled ensemble vocals, but Louise's was the most clearcut solo personality among them, even overshadowing her talented brother Curt, a songwriter and later a prominent figure in television music direction.

With Louise Massey the woman's role in country music moves definitely out of the 30s and into the 40s, when war and social turmoil changed everything. When the men came back from the front in '45 they would find that not only had Rosie the Riveter shown she could do a man's job, but a vast number of women had been showing that they could sing country music. The ground was prepared for a day when the pre-eminent country voices, many of the most inventive stylists, and a sizable proportion of the best songwriters would be women. Three of country music's greatest singers of either sex, Texas Ruby, Molly O'Day and Wilma Lee Cooper, were already beginning their musical odysseys as the 40s dawned. Two more, Rose Maddox and the incomparable Kitty Wells, would shortly follow.

The time was at hand when some sort of glamor would be requisite for the women singing stars, and then, before long, for the men as well. Already a photogenic quality meant something, and so we have the clean-lined beauty of the Amburgeys, the winsomeness of Linda Parker, the well-scrubbed Girls of the Golden West in their matching cowgirl suits. When Sara and Maybelle Carter (still active at the end of the 30s, and singing and playing better than ever) stood for their photograph, they merely dressed in quiet good taste and had their hair done, just as they would to go visiting on a Sunday. They made no attempt to be fetching for the camera, or even approach-

able. But a Patsy Montana's, or a Lulu Belle's, preparation for a stage appearance or a publicity photograph was a matter of taking thought, of costuming and makeup, of stage-setting and lighting and posing; and presence and projection -- in the theatrical sense -- were things she would work hard on, as hard, maybe, as on her music. All this was part of a process which was perhaps natural: making over amateurs into professionals. The Carters, who did little more than simply sing, courted disaster on the rare occasions¹⁹ when they tried to inject a little patter into the act. But the modernized country singer, woman or man, had to be accomplished in stage presence and at winning over an audience.

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The story is told²⁰ of how devious Roy Acuff had to be, even as late as 1940, to make his audiences comfortable with his use of an unmarried, and thus possibly unchaperoned, woman in his act. Only when Rachel Veach was partnered with Beecher Kirby as Sister Rachel and Brother Oswald did the proprieties seem to be satisfied. There had never been exactly a conscious conspiracy to make it hard for women country entertainers; but the weight of centuries of stultifying social custom lifted only slowly. The woman entertainer's private habits were still the subject of speculation and, in some quarters, condemnation -- indeed even now those days are not entirely behind us. Women had only begun to enter, before World War Two, that closed society of male musicians that had begun with casual sessions at country stores to which women were not invited, and with string band playing at dances from which women were supposed to come home before the serious drinking and jamming began. The first step of performing in public took courage, sometimes defiance. For a woman to stay alone overnight away from home, for instance, involved a series of subtle dislocations of accepted behavior which still, in many households not only in the south, add up to impermissible freedom.

But the Depression had begun changing all that. Among the million or more homeless people on the road in the early 30s were many young women²¹ -- not all, by any means, either promiscuous or impressionable; and throughout society there were more and more examples of women who were showing that they could take care of themselves. That was the key. It was an old story in the cities, where the First World War era had begun it, its proffer of jobs to women ending forever the era when women's place was indoors. Bluestockings and suffragettes had dared to assert their intelligence and their disaffection. Margaret Sanger's views on birth control were widely reported.

The country customarily experienced a ten- to twenty-year cultural lag, receiving, for instance, watered-down, played-down versions

of city styles in clothing, popular art and music well after the urban fad for them had died. Thus, for example, Charlie Poole recorded his classic country versions of ancient hits like "Come Take A Trip In My Airship" and "The Girl I Left In Sunny Tennessee" and items like noble-Indian and Jungle songs had a country craze some two decades after their composition in the offices and garrets of Tin Pan Alley. But beginning perhaps with mail order catalogues and continuing with magazines, newspapers, direct-mail advertising, records and preeminently radio, the process of change was catching up all through the early 20th century.

Admittedly it was easier for fads in music than for attitudes about women to change overnight; yet change by 1935 was arriving in the southern rural household at a pretty quick clip. The cultural lag with respect to women's roles was certainly shortened by the arrival in even the remotest homes, via radio, of the voices of bright, self-sufficient women. Once local radio could offer performing opportunities to women singers so that they did not actually have to leave home territory to perform, risk of serenity was so far reduced as to put opportunity within the reach even of the home-centered. In any stable society these are by far the majority; and at least before 1940, when relatively few country singers were full-time career professionals, the "home call" generally became too strong after a few years of harried performing, so that it was rather typical for a country artist to quit performing after five or six years, to settle down, raise a family and go to working steadily at something near home.

Still the number of women who were willing to travel, particularly in that era of unemployment and Depression, was considerably greater, we may suspect, than in prosperous times. Too many men had failed; women couldn't sit home and expect to be supported. It became necessary for many of them to live alone in a strange place, perhaps sending money home, but becoming their own mistresses. Girls leaving school might then leave the family farm in Kentucky for clerk's work in Cincinnati, or give up home life in Virginia for a flat in Baltimore and work on an auto parts assembly line, or take a room in a boardinghouse and join the lines of women trooping to the mills in answer to the morning whistle.

By about 1940 a fair number of young women singers too were moving about the South from radio station to radio station, singing with bands whose personnel changed frequently due to the financially precarious nature of the work, staying not too long in any one place for fear of wearing out the local audience, and in doing so, establishing themselves as entrepreneurs, as businesswomen in a small way, providing not only for themselves but for a troupe. This was the story not merely of Patsy Montana but of

Cousin Emmy, Molly O'Day²² and a number of others who may never be more than names to us, like the intriguingly named Barbara Allen, a figure in radio in the early 40s.

The full story of this activity does of course belong to the 40s more than the 30s, and has much to do with the increase in social change brought about by the Second World War. But it was the logical outcome of what the First World War and the Depression had begun, and it brought women closer to the day when they would claim, in Nashville and the other sacred places of country music, the kind of real autonomy that their sisters in allied fields of music had already secured. Indeed, music, particularly radio music, can arguably be seen as an important agent of that liberation.

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This is not to imply that the traditional southern woman had ever been either a mouse or mute. Rather the contrary, if anything; the backwoods woman's cluster of images includes that of the Tartar. Proud, outspoken, self-possessed, even domineering, she tended to be seen, and to see herself, as holding undisputed sway in her own sphere. But that sphere was, typically, domestic. As in other traditional societies, the southern rural woman was expected to leave matters beyond the front gate to the men, and over the years many such women learned, as one defense, to consider outside matters more trivial and of less value than their home concerns. Thus the very real segregation of conversational subjects which renders women's and men's talk so different in rural and small-town society, as I can testify from a Pennsylvania country boyhood and from subsequent visiting in southern households.

There is nothing inevitable about this; it is the old story of complex sexual image-making as done through the generations, and it can be undone -- in this article we are seeing some of the ways in which that undoing has been compassed. It is the mold from which the children of the traditional society were attempting to break free during the 20s and 30s when, for the first time, the appearance of fissures in the state of things gave them the idea that change, even radical change, in their own lot was possible.

Many of the taboos fell, when they fell, with scarcely a murmur, the ground having been changed to the point of saturation by the onslaught of the contrasting culture of the cities, where at least some women long since had seized the reins of their own lives and were merrily turning the horses loose. As Norm Cohen notes:²³

I have several times asked Patsy Montana about the problems she faced being the only girl in an all-male band, and in touring

around with them; she could recollect little evidence of discrimination or difficulty in being a woman performer. Except for such almost humorous problems as not having a dressing room, she did not have the difficulties we tend to assume she had.

Though we should like to have more evidence, it may be hypothesized that the kind of people who composed the audience for the traveling professional country music performer by the late 30s were, by and large, those inclined to tolerate, even welcome, a woman singer. That is, the righteous grouches stayed home. If there was any disposition to treat the female differently than the male singer -- take advantage of her in some way, or express disapproval -- it apparently didn't occur to anyone to try it on Patsy Montana with her four healthy male escorts.

But the business of taboo-breaking is ambiguous. If you are brash enough to do it, people may think the worse of you, but you are probably also brash enough to stand the consequences. Unless you've broken a law -- and laws, if any, restricting women performers were pretty narrowly localized -- the worst you will probably encounter is a little innuendo, which, if you like, you may ignore. And once ignored, the taboo becomes strangely insubstantial. That, at last, is what apparently happened as women established themselves in country music.

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I feel it is necessary to repeat my starting caveat: this article is only a sketch of the territory. It leaves many questions unanswered, and much supporting data yet to be found. Still we can begin to see some trends.

We began with some rough statistics for country music in the 1920s -- some 3% women soloists or all-woman groups, about 5% of groups featuring women or giving them equal billing, about another 5% of nominally male bands or vocal groups using sidewomen. How the 1930s compare?

Oddly the number of identifiable sidewomen drops nearly to nothing -- only about 1%. It looks as if groups that included women felt encouraged to use them more prominently. Groups featuring women or giving them equal billing rise to nearly 10%, mostly on the strength of man-woman duets and the increase in cowgirl singers with bands. Only three women out of the total 1930s sample of 274 soloists or groups whose recorded music I have heard can be said to have led their own bands, however; and all three -- Louise Massey, Patsy Montana and Nonnie Presson -- could equally be judged not to have led them. Four women were soloists -- not a large number; but it is in the number of all-woman groups that the big rise comes -- sixteen of them, or about 6% of all individuals and

groups just in this category.²⁴ These, at least, were women who can clearly be seen to have been acting for themselves, though with what kind of business relationship to male managers, talent scouts, employers et al remains to be seen.

What conclusions can we draw? Certainly that women's activity in pre-1940 country music was substantial, if nothing like as substantial as today's. Country music would not be fully domesticated to the increasingly important suburban world until the coming of Kitty Wells, and from there to Dolly Parton, Tammy Wynette, Loretta Lynn & Co. was still a long haul. But not so long as it had been in 1920 or even 1930.

Two important steps had been taken. Women had shown that they could act independently in country music entertainment, making their own important contributions. And they had strikingly changed, by their presence and their contributions, the character of that entertainment, so that from that time forward all singing, and to some degree all instrumental arranging, must accommodate itself to gentler sound and more careful presentation. The approach would in some cases (Rosalie Allen is typical) run to the extreme of sounding as if the singer had never stepped outside the city limits -- or even the drawing-room.

This trend would continue more or less unchecked through the 1940s, to be broken in its turn, around 1950, when both men and women brought a harsher, more cutting tone to country music and fiddles began to have some rawness again. Though by 1950, the content of country music lyrics had almost ceased to have relationship to rurality, paradoxically the echoes of that strained, nasal upland vocal style crept back in. But the 40s and 50s were nourished on radio programs, recordings, and not infrequently live appearances of the country singers of the 30s, cutting their teeth on them, using them as models to be accepted, rejected, transcended. To the extent that those models were women, later women, potential performers themselves, learned from them, built confidence upon them, and, with some of the problems of *How To Be A Country Singer Though A Woman* solved, could concentrate on being the best singers they knew how.

In this and many respects, the 1930s may yet be seen as the critical decade when women, based on toeholds gained in the 1920s, arrived in country music to stay.



MARTHA CARSON



WILMA LEE (Columbia Records)

"AMERICA'S SWEETHEART OF FOLK SONG"

★ Featured With ★

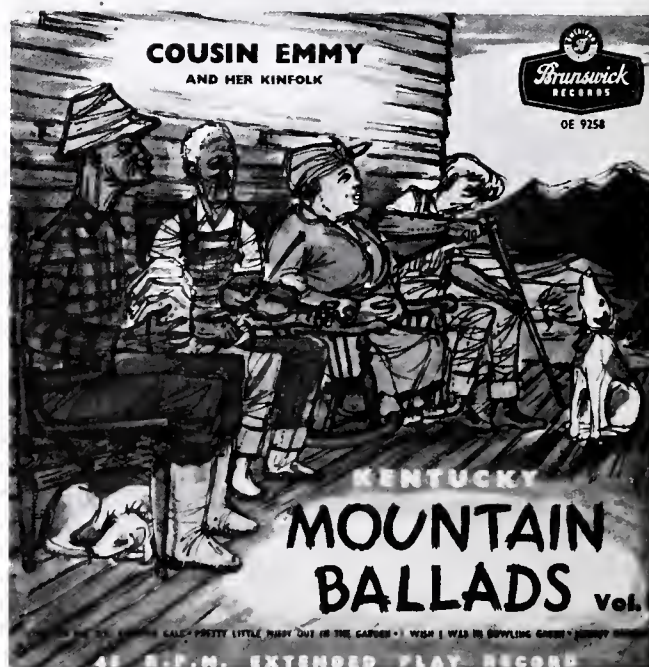
STONEY COOPER & CLINCH MT. CLAN

FOOTNOTES

1. The problem has been stated by Frances M. Farrell, "The John Edwards Memorial Foundation as a Raw Data Source for the Study of Women in Country Music," JEMFQ XIII:4, #48, Winter 1977, pp. 166. Farrell is only one of many who have been frustrated by the unobtainability of old time music apart from the little chosen for reissue. She is wise in resisting the temptation to draw conclusions based on partial data. Just as an instance, artists' names can be misleading -- Maizi Todd, Elzie Floyd, Mellie Dunham, Gwen Foster, Delma Lachney, Wanna Coffman, Bernice Coleman and Orla Clark are all men. It pays to hear the record. On the other hand a soprano voice may be a boy's as in the case of Price Goodson. This illustrates the need for complete and accurate data on early country artists, not to mention widespread re-dissemination of their recorded performances.
2. Farrell, op. cit. pp. 161-167, is especially valuable for its candid commentary by Lily May Ledford and Rose Maddox.
3. See Charles Wolfe, "Samantha Bumgarner: The Original Banjo Pickin' Girl," Devil's Box 12:1, March 1978, pp. 19-25.
4. A viewpoint recorded by Bill Tuttle, for instance, in his "The Roaming Musician" (Co 15697), and in general by Jimmie Rodgers in his "Fifteen Years Ago Today," covered later from the woman's standpoint by Molly O'Day. The self-doubt of a serious man in the world -- A.P. Carter -- is pictured (more or less reliably) in Michael J. Orgill, Anchored in Love, Pillar/Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, 1976, pp. 35ff. The point is that men at least had the right to risk themselves in the world. Few country women in the 1920s felt themselves so free to choose.
5. As Norm Cohen points out, early descriptions of hymn singing in the Colonies suggest that both men and women have used the high register for untrained singing for at least two centuries in the United States. We may guess that high notes may have brought one into a closer felt relationship with heaven -- which may only suggest that many people tend to idealize the high-range singing they heard from their own mothers as infants -- but we do not know conclusively all that lies behind the consistent preference for high-range singing we hear in much southern rural music.
6. Insight into the brief career of this pioneer woman singer appears in Charles Wolfe et al, "Roba Stanley: The First Country Sweetheart," OTM 26, pp. 13-18.
7. By no means a reflection on women's instrumental ability, which, though less frequently displayed than men's in old time country music, is not short of the best. Apart from the considerable abilities of Willie Sievers, Maybelle Carter, Lily May Ledford, Cousin Emmy and others in the 20s and 30s, one can cite numerous modern examples -- and not just the obvious ones of Ronnie and Donna Stoneman. Consider the 1977 Fiddler's Grove Festival, where the all-woman Mountain Women's Cooperative Band walked off with the Champion Old Time Band prize, and Robin Pedi took Fiddler of the Festival. (See Devil's Box 11:4, December 1977, pp. 20-21.)
8. In "Folk and Hillbilly Music: Some Further Thoughts on Their Relation," JEMFQ XIII:2, #46, Summer 1977, pp. 50-57.
9. As related by Richard Nevins, "Real Country Music: The Treasure in Joe Bussard's Basement," 24th National Folk Festival (program), New York, Music Sales Corp., 1972. Carrie Belle Powers is said to have passed on some guitar licks to Maybelle Carter, but which licks, when and to what effect I don't know.
10. See Charles Wolfe, "The Tennessee Ramblers: Ramblin' On," OTM #13, Summer 1974, pp. 5-12.
11. Though Fiddlin' John Carson has been extensively treated, his daughter Rosa Lee is not much discussed. But see my "Look Out! Here He Comes ... Fiddlin' John Carson" in OTM #9, Summer 1973, pp. 19-20.
12. Jean Ritchie, Singing Family of the Cumberlands, New York, Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. 263-4.
13. See Johnny Bond, "The Hit Songwriter That Nashville Forgot," JEMFQ XIII:2, #46, Summer 1977, pp. 67-72.
14. See Charles Wolfe, "We Play to Suit Ourselves: The Perry County Music Makers," OTM #14, Autumn 1974, pp. 11-15.
15. Chicago, M. M. Cole, 1935.

16. See Norm Cohen, "Walter 'Kid' Smith," *JEMFQ* IX:3, #31, Autumn 1973, pp. 128-132, and Tony Russell, "Alias Walter Smith," *OTM* #17, Summer 1975, pp. 12-17.
17. See Chris Comber, "Patsy Montana, The Cowboys' Sweetheart," *OTM* #4, Spring 1972, p. 10.
18. It is fair to ask what quality the male-female duets conveyed which gives them an edge distinct from that of the great brother duets like the Bolicks and Monroes. I believe it is partly romantic intensity -- we sense a boy-girl situation there -- partly the heard contrast of voices of radically different range and timbre. With respect to the last, men like Bill Monroe (with various lower-pitched partners), Charles and Ira Louvin, and the Osborne Brothers would explore similar possibilities using male voices alone. I am not aware of any all-female country vocal ensembles trying to use equivalent contrast, but in the field of Balkan music there are a number of good ethnic examples -- and, of course, the excellent Pennywhistlers.
19. As in their uncomfortably wooden dialogues with Jimmie Rodgers on their joint Victor recordings.
20. Doug Green, *Country Roots: The Origins of Country Music*, New York, Hawthorne, 1976, p. 43.
21. Which fascinated some contemporary observers, including Thomas Minehan, who lived among them. See his *Boy and Girl Tramps of America*, New York, Farrar & Rinehart, 1934.
22. For a glimpse of this kind of odyssey, consult O'Day's radio wanderings in Ivan M. Tribe, "Molly O'Day, Lynn Davis, and the Cumberland Mountain Folks: A Bio-Discography," *JEMF Special Series* #7, Los Angeles, John Edwards Memorial Foundation, 1975.
23. Personal communication, May 11, 1978.
24. How representative is my sample of recorded country music? I believe I have heard nearly all soloists and groups in the hardcore old time music category of 1920s country music, and perhaps half or more of the fringe and "citybilly" groups. With respect to the popularized country music that was beginning to become the mainstream by the late 30s, I believe I have heard, say, two-thirds of all groups and know something of most of the rest. I have, however, restricted my sample to those I have heard and can vouch for. I know of no significant woman country artist who reached record before 1940 who is not included in the sample.

NOTE: I am indebted to Bill Nowlin of Rounder Records for graciously permitting me an early look at the notes by Patricia A. Hall and Charles Wolfe to Rounder 1029, "Banjo Pickin' Girl: Women in Early Country Music, Vol. 1," then in preparation and now available.



"THE DREARY BLACK HILLS": A 19TH CENTURY WESTERN MINING BALLAD

By David Kemp

[The author is a native of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, with a B. A. in History from St. John's University, Collegeville, Minn. He came across the information on "The Dreary Black Hills" while working on a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts--Music Division. At present he is working with the South Dakota Friends of Old Time Music.]

"The Dreary Black Hills" is the most widely recorded song of the Black Hills area and appears in many collections of American folk songs. Describing in vivid terms the expression of forewarning, it seems to reach the depths of the 'western experience' to describe the state of the goldseeker's mind and soul. "The Dreary Black Hills" becomes the archetypal mining camp piece of the West in the eye of the music scholar; in the terms of the modern music listener it is a darn good song.

"The Dreary Black Hills" first appeared in print as a broadside published in the 1870s. Over the years it caught the attention of quite a few historians of the 'western experience.' How historians have interpreted the song is an amazing story in itself.

Merle Row, in the book *Dakota Panorama*, believed that the composer of the song was describing the Black Hills which are in Wyoming, the Laramie Range.¹ He seems to believe that the Beautiful Black Hills of South Dakota could not be dreary. He believed that it described the Laramie Range because the range was "denuded." Such a thought also strikes deep into image which tourist people have tried so hard to create. The song speaks of Cheyenne and the Hills are prettier. One must overlook the fact that not much gold was ever discovered near Cheyenne or in the Laramies. Cheyenne was the supply point and staging area for expeditions into the Black Hills in the first years of the Gold Rush. Captain Jack Crawford, in his letter to the newspaper *Black Hills Pioneer* in August of 1876, mentions that Cheyenne was the first town they reached after leaving the Hills. It took him from 23 June until 2 July to arrive in Cheyenne. He certainly did not consider Cheyenne to be part of the Hills.

Irwin Silber and Earl Robinson in their collection, *Songs of the Great American West* refer to the "great gold rush of 1874 to the Black Hills of Wyoming and South Dakota."² 1874 was a year too early for the rush to take place. General Custer's expedition to the Black Hills took place in 1874. The discovery of gold took place at that time. The news of the find did not become public

until the expedition had returned East in the fall of 1874. The rush began the next spring.

John Lomax, in *Folksongs of North America*, speculates that:

This song was born in one of the roaring nights of Cheyenne's gold boom when an entertainer in the guise of 'the Orphan of the Black Hills' stepped before the footlights. His whining complaint must have drawn howls of laughter from the bearded miners and, by reminding them of the fears they had conquered, it heartened them for fresh adventures in Sitting Bull's country.³

Did Lomax know that Cheyenne was not in the Black Hills? There was no boundary that existed between Wyoming and Dakota Territory at that time. The Hills were recognized to be Dakota territory.

"The Dreary Black Hills" first appeared as a published piece of music as a broadside "published and sold wholesale retail by Bell & Co., general publishers of songs and ballads, book-sellers and stationery and periodical agents, 639 Kearney Street, San Francisco."⁴

The discussions in *Songs of the American West*, edited by Richard E. Lingenfelter and Richard A. Dwyer, and in *Songs of the Great American West*, state that the song was composed "circa 1876."⁵ The song could not have been written earlier considering the date of the beginning of the gold rush.

The original broadside states "As sung by Dick Brown." In the 1870s was it the practice to publish the composer's name in such a fashion? I asked this question after coming across the following information.

In 1934, John S. McClintock of Deadwood, South Dakota published privately a book entitled *Pioneer Days in the Black Hills, Accurate History and Facts Related by One of the Early Day Pioneers*.⁶ John McClintock was an early arrival

THE BLACK HILLS

As Sung by DICK BROWN.

Kind folks you will pity my horrible tale;
I'm an object that's needy, and looking quite stale;
I gave up my trade, selling Wright's Patent Pills;
To go digging for gold in the dreary Black Hills.

Chorus:—So don't go away, stay at home if you can,
Far away from that city, they call it Cheyenne,
For old Sitting Bull, and Commanche Bill
Will raise up your hair in the dreary Black Hills.

In Cheyenne the Round House is filled up ev'ry night
With pilgrims of every description in sight;
No clothes on their backs, in their pockets no bills;
And yet they are striking out for the Black Hills.

Chorus:—So don't go away, &c.

When I came to the Black Hills, no gold could I find,
I thought of the free lunch I left far behind;
Through rain, hail and sleet, nearly froze to the gills—
They call me the orphan boy of the Black Hills.

Chorus:—So don't go away, &c.

Oh, I wish that the man who first started this sell
Was a captive, and Crazy Horse had him in—well,
There is no use in grieving, or swearing like pitch,
But the man who would stay here is a son of a —

Chorus:—So don't go away, &c.

So now to conclude, this advice I'll unfold;
Don't come to the Black Hills a looking for gold.
For Big Wallapie and Commanche Bill,
Are scouting, I'm told, in the dreary Black Hills.

Chorus:—So don't go away, &c.

Published and Sold Wholesale and Retail by BELL & Co.,
General Publishers of Songs and Ballads, Booksellers and Sta-
tioners and Periodical Agents, 639 Kearny Street, San Francisco.

PROPERTY OF
CENTENNIAL ARCHIVES
Deadwood, S.D. 57732

THIS KEEPSAKE, No. 56, is one of 550 copies related to the Centennial of the Black Hills Gold Rush of '76 and to dedication of Leland D. Case Library for Western Historical Studies at Black Hills State College, Spearfish, So. Dak. It is reproduced directly from the broadside, which now is so rare as to be "virtually unobtainable" according to Van Allen Bradley, an authority on Americana. Yale University is said to have struck off some 50 copies in 1954 for the New Haven Westerners Corral, but they now are almost as scarce as original 1876 broadsides.

in the Black Hills. He arrived in the mining camp, the shack town called Deadwood in early 1875. For many years after he ran the Deadwood to Spearfish stagecoach. The book was written when Mr. McClintock was around ninety years of age. He hoped to give an "accurate history" of the events of the early Hills. He indicated in his book that such a history was needed to dispel the untrue myths which had developed by the time he was writing his history.

The name "Deadwood Dick" was created by a New York dime novel writer by the name of Edward Wheeler. In Chapter 31 of McClintock's book, entitled "Deadwood Dick" McClintock stated the following:

Possibly there are elements of truth contained in the trite saying, which is generally credited to the great showman, Barnum, that the people like to be fooled. While this trait in people is generally recognized, it cannot be accepted as evidence that most people, when seeking information on matters of historical importance, prefer fiction to truth. With such belief this writer will endeavor to make true answers to two questions that have repeatedly been submitted to me, orally and in writing, as an early-day pioneer of the Black Hills. Undoubtedly the same questions have been asked of other pioneers.

One question is, "Was there really, in the early days of Black Hills settlement, any such character as has been pictured in stories of fiction as a notorious stage robber, having the name of 'Deadwood Dick'?" This question is answered in the negative. There was no such character.

The other question is, "What do you know about Deadwood Dick?" The following is what I know of four different persons, each of whom has been spoken of, by his associates, as "Deadwood Dick."

The first of these, had he remained in the Black Hills, probably would have retained the soubriquet against all comers. This was Dick Brown, a large and handsome man, having a dark mustache and a goatee to match. He was a proficient banjo performer, an excellent baritone singer, and a versatile actor. He came from Cheyenne, Wyoming, to the southern Black Hills during the fall of 1875. After witnessing a few successful "cleanups" of placer gold, he became enthusiastic and made a hasty return to Cheyenne, avowedly for the purpose of obtaining money to buy a gold mine. On meeting the Brennan, Stokes and Harney party he expressed the opinion that the Black Hills was the greatest gold mining country in the world, and averred that he had seen a miner with a buckskin breeches leg filled with gold dust; such was his

exaggerated description of a small buckskinpurse of ten to twenty ounces of gold dust capacity.

It appeared, however, that Dick failed to find available money to carry out his plans. He did, however, make a discovery which no doubt made a stronger appeal to his tastes than mere money would have done, at Laramie, Wyoming. This discovery was in the person of one Fannie Garretson, an attractive woman and also a fine musician. Dick's good looks and winning ways proved sufficient to entice Fannie away from her lover, one Ed Shaunnessy. So together the new pair came to the southern Hills and on to Deadwood in the spring of '76. Here, as a musical attraction, second to none of the many that were performing on Main Street at the time, they secured an engagement at the "Melodeon," a saloon and gambling hall on the corner of Main and Wall Streets, where the Fairmont Hotel now stands. Here for many weeks they played to a packed hall and a crowded street in front of it. Fannie at the piano and Dick with his banjo and his strong, clear, musical voice, held their audiences up to the midnight hour. Dick's repertoire of ballads consisted of practically all popular western songs from '49 to '76. Into these songs he would fit the names of the Black Hills and Deadwood in ways so appropriate as to win for himself the appellation "Deadwood Dick." Undoubtedly the appellation had inception in a casual remark by someone who had heard and enjoyed his fine singing. Notwithstanding the popularity gained by these versatile entertainers their jubilee days in Deadwood were abruptly brought to a close by the appearance of Fannie's erstwhile lover, Shaunnessy, who had followed her with the expressed hope of winning her back.

In this effort he was sorely disappointed as he was again spurned by Fannie; and on being informed that Fannie and Dick were married, he gave up all hope and became reckless. One night when he strolled into the Gem Theatre he discovered Fannie and Dick together upon the stage. Not being able to restrain himself any longer, he advanced and threw something at them. Whatever it was no one seemed to know, as the object was quickly put out of sight. Some people who witnessed the performance said that it appeared to be a bunch of paper. Dick said that it was an ax. Assuming that the insult was a

sufficient provocation to justify him in doing away with his dangerous rival, Dick drew a revolver and skilled Shaunnessy on the spot. Then Dick and Fannie left Deadwood for another part of the territory soon afterwards. It was reported that Dick was apprehended and stood trial for murder; but, as there was no evidence produced to convict him, he was set free, and so far as the writer knows he was never again heard of by Deadwood people.

The foregoing circumstances all transpired prior to the advent of the first stage line into the northern Black Hills. The first line was inaugurated in September 1876.....

Estaline Bennett in her book *Old Deadwood Days* states that every saloon in Deadwood had a vaudeville show and string orchestra. One of the most popular acts in the saloons in the first years was an act consisting of two performers, "Lobster Jack" who sang and Dick Brown who played banjo and sang.⁷

In the book *Pay Dirt, A Panorama of American Gold-Rushes* written by Glenn Chesney Quiett, which was published two years after *Pioneer Days in the Black Hills*, Mr. Quiett stated the following:

A third was Dick Brown, a large, handsome man with a dark mustache and goatee who played the banjo and sang in the hurdy-gurdy houses. Singing all the miner's songs of the day, he would change them so as to bring in the name of Deadwood and the Black Hills, and because of this the miners came to call him Deadwood Dick. Typical of the songs with which he delighted the miners was:

The Black Hills

Kind Friends you will pity my horrible tale.

I'm an object that's needy and looking quite pale.

I gave up my trade, selling Wright's Patent Pills,

To go digging for gold in the Dreary Black Hills.

Cho: So don't go away, stay at home if you can

Far away from Deadwood, far away from Cheyenne,

For old Sitting Bull and Comanche Bill Will raise up your hair in the Dreary Black Hills.

In Cheyenne the Round House is filled every night

With Pilgrims of every description in sight;

No clothes on their backs, in their pockets no bills,

And yet they are striking out for the Black Hills.

When I came to the Black Hills no gold could I find.

I thought of the free lunch I left far behind.

Through rain, hail and sleet, nearly froze to the gills

They call me the orphan boy of the Black Hills.

Oh, I wish that the man who first started this sell

Was a captive and Crazy Horse had him in hell.

There in no use in grieving or swearing like pitch

But the man who would stay here is a son of a bitch.

Dick Brown married Fannie Garretson, a dance-hall singer and pianist, who had been living with a gambler named Shaunnessy in Cheyenne. When Shaunnessy followed them to Deadwood and interrupted their act, demanding that Fannie return to him. Dick shot him dead and hurriedly escaped from the Hills.⁸

Did Mr. Quiett mean to indicate that Dick Brown as the composer when he stated 'typical'? Mr. Quiett indicates in his notes that the sole source for the information for the chapter was J. S. McClintock's manuscript of *Pioneer Days in the Black Hills*. I found out that M. S. McClintock's manuscript is in the possession of his grandson, Darrell Murray, of Deadwood, South Dakota. Mr. Murray kindly allowed me to examine the manuscript to see if there was any reference to "The Dreary Black Hills." I found no reference to the song in J. S. McClintock's manuscript or notes. (By the way, Mr. Murray says that not a summer passes without someone coming through hoping to buy the manuscript. He finds it rather humorous in that when the book was originally published and sold his grandfather lost money.) Did Mr. Quiett encounter information which indicated that Dick Brown was the composer? Was he aware of the song and speculated that the song must have originated in the first years of the gold rush? There is nothing in his chapter notes to indicate either of the possibilities. I am unable to obtain any other information, biographical or otherwise, about Glenn Chesney Quiett at this time.

Might I speculate then that Dick Brown could be the composer of "The Dreary Black Hills." If this performer Dick Brown fled the Black Hills after murdering Ed Shaunnessy, I can picture someone with a warrant out for his arrest fleeing west (California?) to obscurity and safety and composing a song with the lines:

Go away, stay away if you can

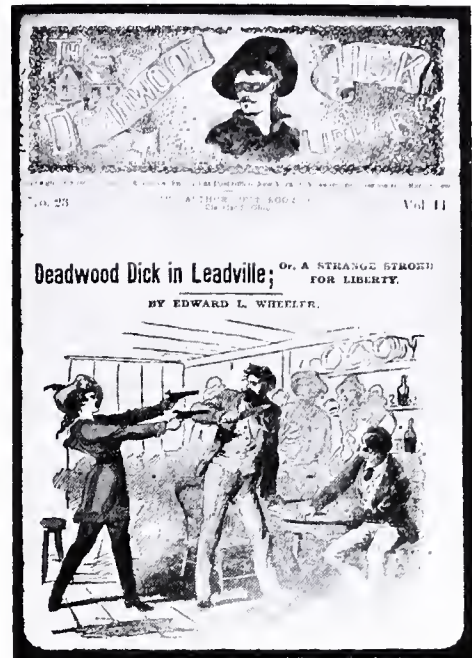
Stay away from that city they call it Cheyenne

For Old Sitting Bull and Wallopie Bill Will lift off your head in the dreary

Black Hills.

The great paranoia of those times was to be ambushed by a savage Indian. In a white man's consciousness of those times they were the devil that every fear must be blamed on. Dick Brown the performer certainly didn't strike it rich in the Black Hills. In later years, one might speculate that when the song began to appear in collections of folk music, he was either dead or not very interested in establishing publicly his whereabouts.

Did Dick Brown the singer compose the Dreary Black Hills? Was it the same Dick Brown? How many Dick Brown's could possibly experience such happenings in the first years of the white man's excursions into the Black Hills? Did Dick Brown encounter someone who had composed the song and made it part of his repertoire? How many Dick Brown's could there be in a small shack town in the Black Hills in the first days of the gold rush? All you can do is speculate that somewhere in the American West's violent past the answers to these questions lie. I would say that Dick Brown is the composer.



APPENDIX: VERSIONS OF "THE DREARY BLACK HILLS"

The following is a list of the versions of "The Dreary Black Hills" which I encountered in my research. I list only the sources rather than the different versions. I also listed sources which were listed as references but where I did not find a source of information or versions. I have made a special note of these.

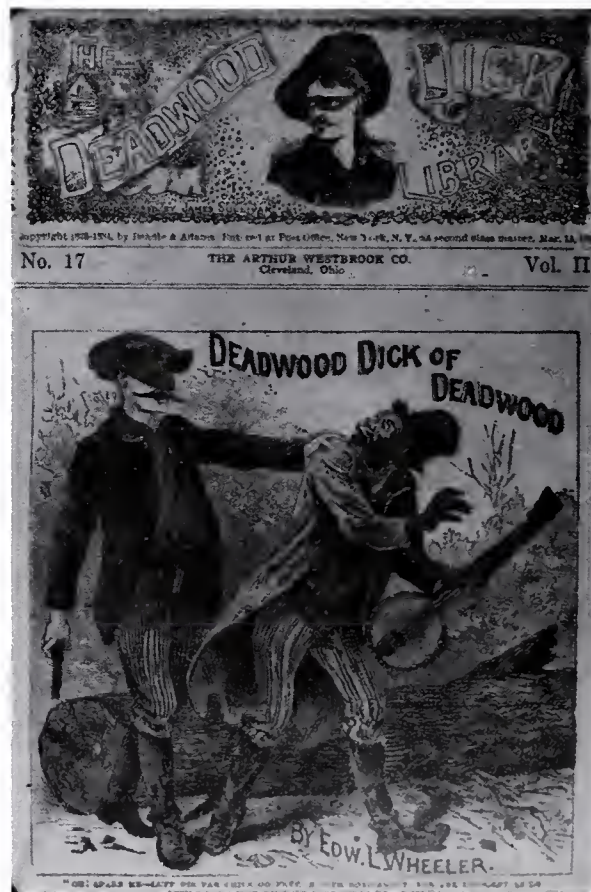
- Belden, Henry M. *Songs and Ballads Collected by Missouri Folklore Society* (Columbia, Missouri, 1955).
- Brown, Raymond. *Sing 'Em Cowboy Sing 'Em, Songs of the Trail and Range* (NY: Amsco Music Sales, 1934). [Source: John Edwards Memorial Foundation.]
- Centennial Archives. *The Black Hills, as sung by Dick Brown* (a copy made from the original broadside published by Bell & Co. [Property of the Deadwood Public Library.]
- Cowboy Joe (Joseph Scudder Zinkans). *Treasure Chest of Cowboy Songs* (NY: Treasure Chest Publications, Inc., 1935). [Source: John Edwards Memorial Foundation.]
- Fife, Austin E. *Cowboy and Western Songs* (NY: Clarkson M. Potter, 1969), pp. 65, 66.
- Larkin, Margaret. *Singing Cowboy* (NY: Knopf, 1931), pp. 95, 96, 97.
- Lingenfelter, Richard E., Richard A. Dwyer and David Cohen. *Songs of the American West* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 122, 123.
- Lomax, Alan. *The Folk Songs of North America* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1960), pp. 329, 373, 374.
- Lomax, John A. and Alan. *American Ballads & Folksongs*. (NY: MacMillan, 1934), pp. 438, 439, 440.
- Lomax, John A. and Alan. *Cowboy Songs and Other Frontier Ballads* (NY: MacMillan, 1938), pp. 372-374.
- Maxwell, Miriam. Unpublished, private family collection, version obtained from a Keystone Notebook owned by Omen R. Gardner who homesteaded near Belvedere in western South Dakota. Mr. Gardner was Ms. Maxwell's grandfather.
- Quiett, Glenn Chesney. *Paydirt, A Panorama of American Gold Rushes* (NY: Appleton-Century, 1936), pp. 258-260.
- Roaming Ranger. *Songs of the Roaming Ranger* (NY: Joe Davis, Inc.), p. 45. [Source: John Edwards Memorial Foundation.]
- Sandburgh, Carl. *The American Songbag* (NY: Harcourt, Brace; Sherwin, Sterling, and Louis Katzman, 1927), pp. 264-265.
- Shoemaker, Henry W. *Mountain Minstrelsy of Pennsylvania*. Third edition of North Pennsylvania Minstrelsy, Revised and Enlarged, Philadelphia, 1931), pp. 264-265.
- Silber and Robinson. *Songs of the Great American West*, pp. 149-152.

[I found no direct reference to "The Dreary Black Hills" in J. S. McClintock's book, *Pioneer Days in the Black Hills*, as noted in the article.

I found a partial version of the song in L. J. Jennewein's book, *Black Hills Book Trails*. The Collection of the Society of California is often listed as the source of the original broadside, "The Black Hills," as sung by Dick Brown. I found no information in the collections of the Society of California Pioneers.]

FOOTNOTES

1. C. M. Rowe, *Dakota Panorama*, ed. by J. Leonard Jennewein, Jane Boorman (3rd printing, Sioux Falls, S. D., 1973).
2. Irwin Silber, Earl Robinson, *Songs of the Great American West*, pp. 149.
3. John Lomax, *Folk Songs of North America*, p. 329.
4. Reproduction from the original broadside, *The Black Hills* as sung by Dick Brown, copy property of Centennial Archives, Deadwood, South Dakota.
5. Richard E. Lingenfelter, Richard A. Dwyer and David Cohen, *Songs of the American West* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968).
6. John S. McClintock, *Pioneer Days in the Black Hills*, manuscript property of Darrell Murray, Deadwood, S. D. (Deadwood, 1934), pp. 129-131.
7. Estaline Bennett, *Old Deadwood Days* (NY: J. H. Sears, 1928), pp. 105-136.
8. Glenn Chesney Quiett, *Pay Dirt, A Panorama of American Goldrushes* (NY: Appleton-Century, 1936), pp. 258-260.



LABOR SONG AS SYMBOL

by Archie Green

Performers, collectors, and students of labor song use the term broadly to cover work chants, occupational narratives, topical broadsides, and material from radical or reform movements. Narrowly, they restrict it to cover a core of union compositions touching issues within organizational drives or collective bargaining sessions. In its most specific and historical sense, this term denotes a particular conflict, the strike. Like much folk and popular expression, labor songs function in diverse manners to entertain and to educate. One studies any given labor song within two basic frames: A) as a communicative device designed to convey a line, or to modify behavior; B) as a symbolic device designed to represent a movement's values, or to serve as an emblem for a member's role in an organization. These two analytic frames are complementary; both have been used over the years.

Readers of the JEMF QUARTERLY are especially interested in records usually denominated old time, hillbilly, country, western, or folk. Within all these categories one finds considerable occupational song and some "straight" union material, but no collectors, in recent years, have prepared labor discographies or articles based on such recordings. My commentary, then, is an appeal to colleagues to undertake labor discographies, defined broadly or narrowly. Here, I have selected seven pictorial items for reproduction which present labor pieces in an iconographic light, and complement discographic research.

To begin long before Edison: European artisans carried craft skills, guild secrets, and customary behavior to all the New World colonies. In the Americas, workers used song to deflect the trauma of the transatlantic passage as well as to dampen the pressures springing from new social relationships. Some ditties such as "Hard Times," are of great longevity, appearing on colonial broadsides as well as on recent field recordings. After the Revolutionary War, some early trade unions issued newspapers carrying labor song and poetry, much of it didactic. The best anthology of such material is Philip Foner's American Labor Songs of the Nineteenth Century (University of Illinois Press, 1975). Foner gleaned hundreds of songs from old newspapers, and also embellished his book with more than forty illustrations.

My survey, in this issue, assumes familiarity with Foner's book and follows his time period. I begin in the 1930s with a rare musical broadside published by the Pierre Degeyter Music Club. Degeyter, in 1888, composed "L'Internationale," an anthem for radicals throughout the world. The New York group which honored his name included a band of formally trained musicians largely committed to Marxist ideology. Late in 1934, the club issued "Five Workers' Rounds," clearly directed at workers but not accepted by many beyond the orbit of the Communist Party. One tiny drawing decorates the broadside: a poet, quill in hand, composes a valentine to Madame Capitalism--possibly these five satiric rounds. Technically, this tiny decoration is a symbol of the poetic muse, but with the passage of time, the whole broadside itself is emblematic. I see this musical offering as marking the troubled relationship between communists and workers in the United States before the rise of anti-fascist, popular-front politics in the mid-1930s.

Members of the Composers' Collective, who were also in the Degeyter Club during its active years, perceived New York Mayor Fiorello La Guardia and President Franklin Delano Roosevelt as class enemies. After Hitler came to power in Germany, communists and socialists as well as radicals and liberals in Europe formed United Front coalitions. In the United States, some anti-fascist radicals functioned within the large New Deal alliance, while leftists and laborites joined under CIO banners to support the President in his reform programs. The best study of communist culture by a folklorist in the United States is Richard Reuss's American Folklore and Left-Wing Politics: 1927-1947 (University of Indiana Ph.D. dissertation, 1971). A parallel sociological study is R. Serge Denisoff's Great Day Coming (University of Illinois Press, 1971).

In recent interviews and lectures, Charles Seeger has looked back upon his own participation in the Composers' Collective, and has noted that he and some of his peers then were interested primarily in either classical or experimental music. Neither of these modes "spoke" to "the masses," who responded largely to folk, ethnic, and popular music. This contradiction caused Seeger considerable

FIVE WORKERS' ROUNDS

IN THE FORM OF DEDICATIONS

Words by Dan Shays
Music by H. Brown*

1.
3 sections
To
Madame
Capitalism



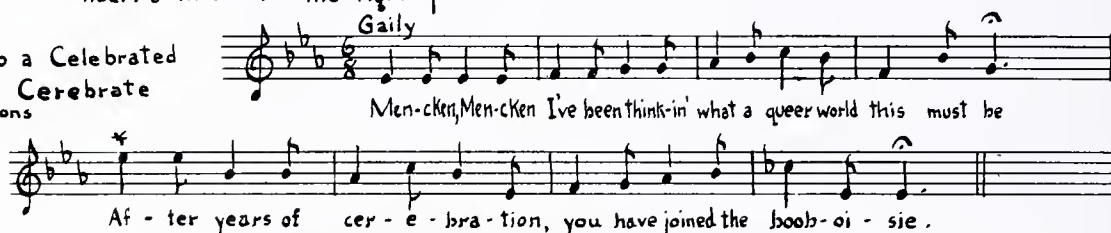
With a Swing



2 To a Celebrated
Cerebrate

2 sections

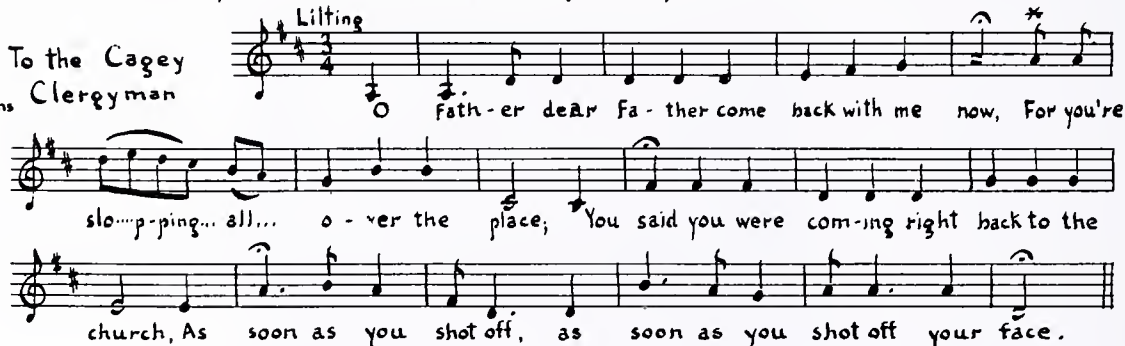
Gaily



3 To the Cagey
Clergyman

4 sections

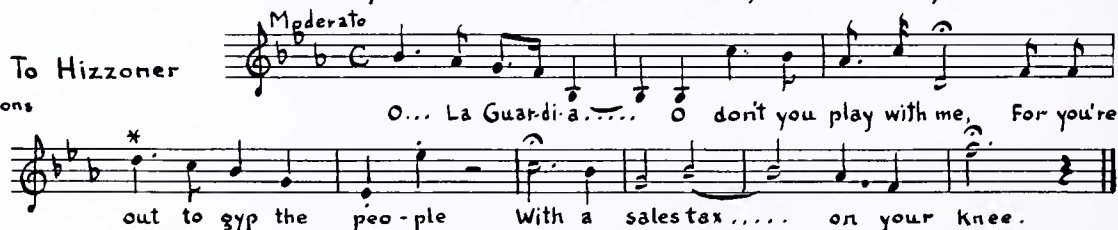
Lilting



4 To Hizzoner

3 sections

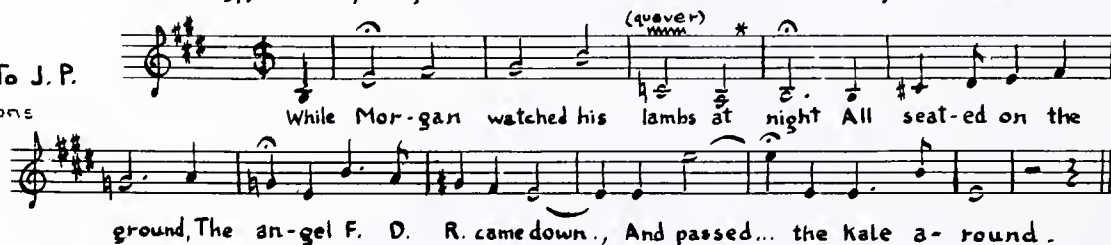
Moderato



5 To J. P.

4 sections

(quaver)
mm



In singing a round, each section of the chorus sings exactly the same thing, but starting at different times. Each section starts when the preceding section reaches the beat marked * and when the end is reached, goes right back to the beginning. Sing over and over, all concluding together on notes mark with ♯. Conclude with bass on tonic (do).

*Member of the Composers' Collective, Pierre Degeyer Music Club, N. Y.

Published by the Pierre Degeyer Music Club, 165 W. 23 St., N. Y. C.

anguish, which he allayed ultimately by a turn to the study of folk music. A biography of Seeger, in progress, by Ann Pescatello (University of California Press) treats this concern. Also, a forthcoming article by David Dunaway on the Composers' Collective goes to the heart of the left turn to folksong.

The chief meeting place for intellectuals and rank-and-file workers in the 1930s was in the CIO--initially called the Committee for Industrial Organization, later the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Within the CIO's constituent unions, new members brought together many song streams: Appalachian balladry, southern gospel hymnody, immigrant polkas, popular hits, jazz rhythms. While the CIO was in its formative years, a group of young performers met in New York to become the Almanac Singers. This group included Pete Seeger, Millard Lampell, Lee Hays, Woody Guthrie, and others. The Almanacs, under their own label name, released their first record album in the spring of 1941. Songs for John Doe held three 10" 78-rpm discs and commented on a still-controversial period, the months between the Soviet-Nazi Pact (August 1939) and the German invasion of Russia (June 1941).

During this period, American communists, following a Stalinist line, urged non-intervention by the United States in Hitler's war in Western Europe. The Almanacs' discs which held "peace" messages included "The Strange Death of John Doe," "Billy Boy," "Ballad of October 16," "Plow Under," "C for Conscription," "Washington Breakdown," and "Liza Jane." All numbers were topical; most were set to traditional tunes; none remained in labor union tradition. However, after the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union, and after the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor, the Almanacs abandoned their first album and switched to pro-war songs such as Guthrie's "Reuben James," and Seeger's "Dear Mr. President." Some compositions by the Almanacs from the anti-intervention as well as the war-support period were labor inspired. For example, Talking Union, composed by Pete Seeger and the Almanacs in 1941, and recorded for the Keynote label on Talking Union in 1942, remains a labor classic and is now included in many AFL-CIO songbooks.

To the extent that the album Songs for John Doe is still remembered, it is placed in the political context of anti-war activity or in that of shifts by communists in response to Soviet positions. However, when the Almanacs produced their first album, they commissioned or selected a cover picture which commented neither on war, peace, nor foreign politics, but rather on the internal American scene. In a sense, they turned from song content to intended audience.

The Almanacs' album cover reproduced here uses obvious folk and blue-collar symbols. The singing cowboy within the drawing suggests to viewers that he is offering folksongs appropriate to ordinary citizens--the countless John Does of our land. Two workers, a white coal miner and a

black factory worker, return home to a pretty mother and child (both white), who are either greeting husband/daddy or enjoying the cowboy guitarist's music. It is difficult for me to reconstruct the precise intent of the Almanacs' artist; however, I have always seen this album drawing as a depiction of the audience to whom the Almanacs beamed their then-isolationist songs. Clearly these performers linked themselves to the working class, defining laborers as folk. Today, it is useful to see the Almanacs as a bridge between the polemical Composers' Collective of the early 1930s and the Weavers, who helped shape America's "folksong revival" in the early 1950s.

During World War II, Moses Asch, by entering the phonograph record business, made a tremendous contribution to the dissemination and popularization of American folksong. Asch collected vigorously and cajoled others to collect for him, releasing material under several labels, ultimately settling on Folkways. During 1944, he issued Roll the Union On (Asch 371), bringing together some of the Almanacs and their friends under a fresh tag, The Hootenanny Singers (Butch Hawes, Lee Hays, Lou Klinman, Dock Reese, Pete Seeger, Hally Wood). This album held "A-Looking For a Home," "Put It On the Ground," "Roll the Union On," "The Rankin Tree," "Listen, Mr. Bilbo," and "This Old World." These six numbers represent a good cross-section of topical and traditional material introduced to left and labor partisans during the War.

Rankin and Bilbo referred respectively to a Congressman and a Senator from Mississippi. Songs bearing their names targeted right-wing and racist policies in the 1940s. By contrast, "This Old World" was a gospel hymn favored by southern fundamentalists. The album's title song, "Roll the Union On," was composed about 1936 at Commonwealth College, a radical center in Mena, Arkansas. Lee Hays and Claude Williams share credit for composing it; their melodic source was the familiar "Roll the Chariot On." Today, "Roll the Union On" is a labor union standard. Over time, unionists metaphorically have rolled over bosses, scabs, sheriffs, bankers, and politicians. In the original song, sharecroppers rolled over planters, marking the drive by the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union to organize.

Between the years 1940-1950, Moses Asch encouraged several fine artists to prepare cover illustrations for his many 78-rpm record albums. Some of these drawings were transferred to LP jacket covers and, hence, are still available. In my judgment, the best artist to work with folk material in the pre-LP period was David Stone Martin. Previously, I commented briefly on his role in Graphics #18 (Autumn, 1971). Martin usually favored thin-line drawings and clean pen-and-ink sketches, but in his cover work for Roll the Union On he used a diffuse lithographic technique. I have



always liked this particular cover picture of men going to work, eager in their stride, ready to get on with needed tasks. In a sense, Martin's drawing contradicts the album title Roll the Union On, which stands for power on the picket line and strength in struggle. Actually, he conveyed the spirit of workers winning the battle of production against Hitler. Martin's drawing standing alone could have graced any win-the-war poster in 1944, and can now be seen, retrospectively, as the visual enactment of but one of labor's plural goals. To know the American labor movement is to understand the intertwined roles of iconoclasts and hardhats, as well as the convergence of rebellious and patriotic norms.

For four decades, Joe Glazer has been singing to trade unionists and composing songs for their use. Formerly, he served as a staff member for two international unions--the United Rubber Workers and the Textile Workers Union. During the 1970s he established Collector Records to present occupational and topical material on LPs. His Songs of the Wobblies (Collector 1927) a recent release, holds twelve songs by Joe Hill, Harry McClintock, Ralph Chaplin, and others. The LP, as well, includes an eight-minute band of Ralph Chaplin addressing the 1960 convention of the International Woodworkers of America at Portland, Oregon. This juxtaposition of Chaplin and Glazer is significant because the former Wobbly editor and organizer was also the composer (in 1915) of "Solidarity Forever," labor's classic hymn. Although Chaplin was near the end of his life when he talked to "timber beasts" in Portland, his words to them carried the passion which made the IWW a movement rather than a mere association of unions.

Glazer's LP jacket cover in black, white, and red, uses a traditional drawing of a defiant Wobbly, which dates back to the IWW newspaper Solidarity (4 August 1917). This bold worker out of the past, arms folded, symbolizes the power of workers guarding their strength--literally refusing to work. The Industrial Workers of the World were superbly confident that the working class was capable of governing itself in mine and mill, and by extension, all the world. Joyce Kornbluh has compiled a dramatic and extensively illustrated anthology of Wobbly lore and letters. Rebel Voices (University of Michigan Press, 1964). It is a superb introduction to labor lore for newcomers and a fine companion to Glazer's Songs of the Wobblies.

The most recent labor anthology on LP, to my knowledge, is Songs of Labor & Livelihood, Volume 8, Library of Congress Bicentennial series Folk Music in America. This fifteen-volume set, edited by Richard Spottswood, brought together a great variety of songs: English and non-English language, ballads and blues, reissued commercial discs and rare field records. After Spottswood made his selection of eighteen labor items, he called upon Richard Reuss for assistance in writing the brochure. I recommend this

LP for its musical breadth, carefully transcribed texts, and useful bibliographic and discographic citations.

The brochure cover reproduced here uses an engraving of an early oilfield to convey a proper sense of antiquity for the Bicentennial. This cut first appeared on a prospectus for shares for the Spondulix Petroleum Co., published in 1865. The prospectus also announced that stock purchasers would be entitled to a copy of the song, "Petroleum Gallop," composed by the Treasurer and Manager of the Spondulix Co. The Library of Congress layout focuses on everyday livelihood rather than protest, on technology rather than ideology. The sharp contrast between a defiant Wobbly and a busy oilfield reminds viewer/listeners that American workers are both job and class oriented, and that symbolic expression arises constantly to mark these dual states of consciousness.

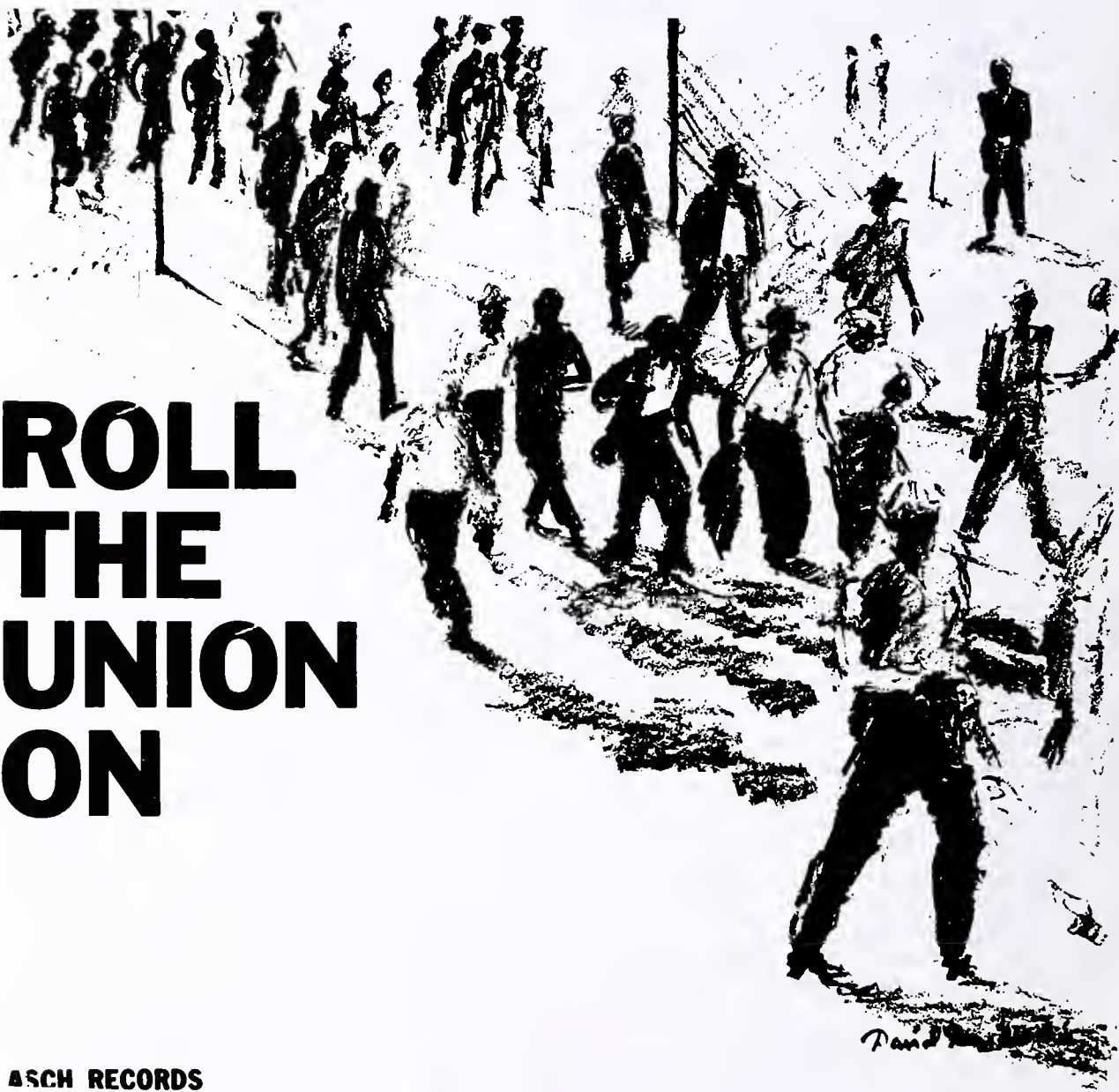
"Which Side Are You On?" emerged out of sectarian politics to become a classic labor song. Composed by Florence Reece in 1931, it commended on a National Miners Union strike in Kentucky. The NMU at that time was a communist-led union, antagonistic to the United Mine Workers of America. In the New Deal years the NMU disappeared leaving behind a band of trained unionists and a few songs as symbols of class difference. The Almanac Singers helped bring "Which Side" to urban audiences, releasing it in 1942 on the influential Keynote album Talking Union. In time, "Which Side" was shorn of radical coloration, and it is now one of a handful of songs actually known to union members who sing at rallies and other celebratory events.

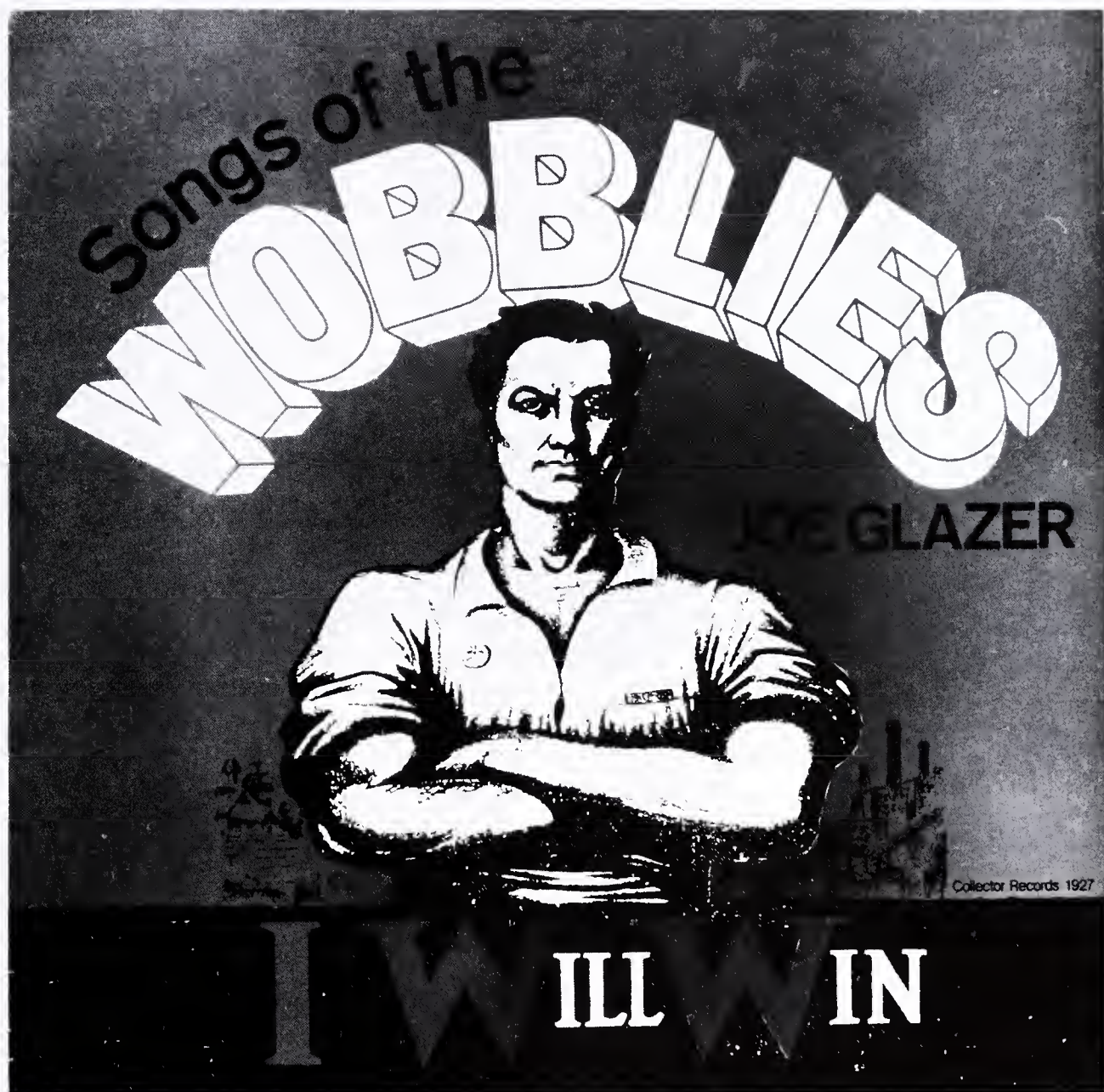
It is unnecessary to detail the history of "Which Side Are You On?" here. However, I can stress the large meaning in the title which itself epitomizes struggle. When John W. Hevener, a history professor at Ohio State University, completed his book on The Harlan County Coal Miners, 1931-39, he relegated these descriptive words to a sub-title, and selected Which Side Are You On? for his dramatic main title. I have reproduced Hevener's dust jacket (University of Illinois Press, 1978) to mark the emblematic role of a single powerful labor song. We see familiar words in print; we hear a labor song on a recording; in sight and sound together, we sense conflict and challenge.

To move from "Which Side Are You On?" to Johnny Paycheck's "Take This Job and Shove It" is to go from Harlan County to Nashville and from 1931 to 1977. Beyond these shifts, the two songs represent large differences between folk and popular expression. "Which Side" began its journey literally in a miner's shack; "Shove It" came to life in a modern recording studio. The coal song circulated initially by word of mouth in an enclaved community; the Nashville

ROLL THE UNION ON

ASCH RECORDS

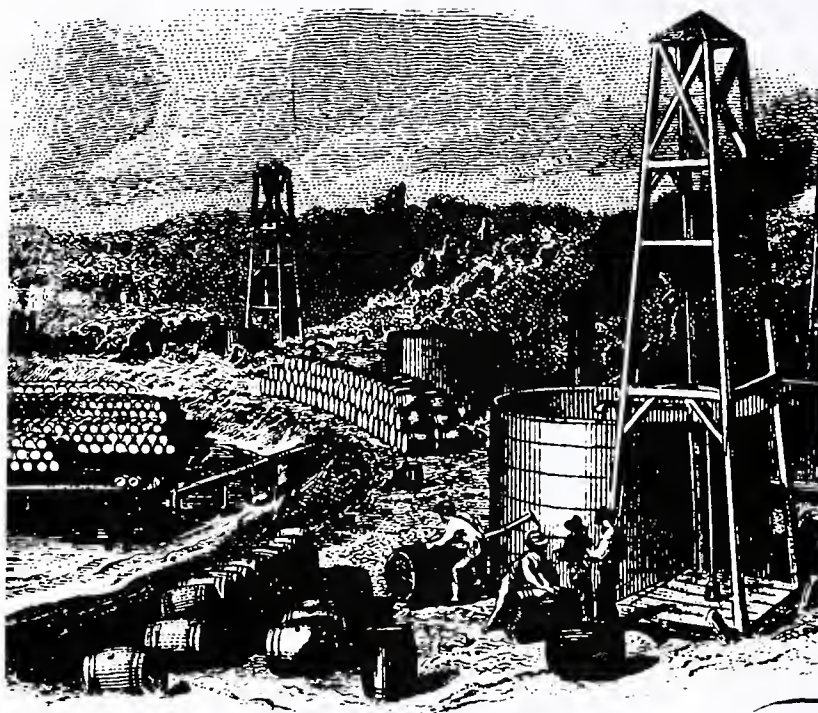




FOLK MUSIC IN AMERICA Volume 8 Recording Laboratory LBC 8

Songs of Labor & Livelihood

Edited by Richard K. Spottswood and Richard A. Reuss



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Library of Congress Washington 1978



hit, by records and radio, simultaneously reached great numbers of listeners scattered throughout the United States. The strike song percolated for more than two decades before it was recognized as traditional by labor unionists; the pop fantasy was helped to instant star-status by a sophisticated public relations crew. In phrases appropriate to "Which Side," Paycheck's hit has been tagged a "working-class anthem" and a "proletarian outburst." Thus, it can serve as a key to understanding the term labor song in present-day usage.

Donald Lytle, born in 1938 in Greenfield, Ohio, grew up in a family which knew hard work and tough times. After considerable knocking about as a young man, he became a country musician, eventually taking the stage name Johnny Paycheck. For two decades he paid dues as a sideman with Faron Young, Ray Price, and George Jones. In Nashville, Johnny acquired an early outlaw image based partly on levis and long hair, and partly on the ravages of brigs and booze. During the Summer of 1977, Columbia-Epic producer Billy Sherrill gave him a song to record composed by David Alan Coe, *The Mysterious Rhinestone Cowboy*. "Take This Job and Shove It" became an instant hit after release in the Fall, both on a 45-rpm single (11 October) and on an LP (31 October). It rose to Number One on the country charts for the opening weeks of 1978.

In his long climb to Nashville's top, Paycheck was not identified particularly with social causes, but his hit tapped a deep vein of blue- and white-collar discontent felt by tens of millions of Americans. While the disc was readied for release, two resourceful publicity women at CBS Records, Mary Ann McCready and Susan Binford, sought to translate the song's content into a visual image. A CBS executive arranged with the officers of Nashville Teamsters Local 327 to photograph Paycheck as "a striker on the line." The facts in most promotional efforts are generally obscure. Nevertheless, I have tried to bring some details on "Take This Job" to the surface, not in the spirit of investigative journalism, but rather to learn how a modern song is invested with extra meaning beyond that contained intrinsically in its text-tune.

Like many labor unions in the United States, Teamsters Local 327 had used picket signs and placards, reporting "unfair labor practices" during organization drives. In 1977 this union conducted an unsuccessful campaign against a Nashville bindery. To accommodate the recording firm's marketing strategy, the Teamsters' officers on Sunday, 16 October 1977, rounded up some forty members to pose with signs in front of their own hall. The day was cold; Clark Thomas, a skilled free-lance photographer, climbed a ladder and "shot" Paycheck "on strike." The released photo revealed subsequently that the Teamsters had blanked out carefully the name of the offending bindery, thereby embarrassing no one. In November,

CBS Records distributed this media-event picture of Paycheck in action, and several thousand glossies flooded radio stations and newspaper offices. Some of these releases are still being used.

In my view, the most fascinating single detail in the Paycheck "strike photo" is the use of the traditional revolutionary clenched-fist salute --hardly an everyday symbol for Nashville bookbinders or teamsters. The publicity shot caught on widely, often with a cut-line asserting that Paycheck had cast his lot with strikers or that picketers had adopted a new song. For reference, I list but seven appearances of the promotional photographs: *Nashville Tennessean* (1 December 1977); *US* (27 December 1977); *Oakland Tribune* (25 January 1978); *Chicago Tribune* (5 February 1978); *People Weekly* (17 April 1978); *Stereo Review* (May 1978); *Jackson Clarion-Ledger* (1 October 1978). I suspect that this glossy is destined to appear in future anthologies and histories as representative of labor alienation in the 1970s.

In the winter of 1978, the United Mine Workers of America engaged Johnny Paycheck, who blitzed the coal-mining region for a few days, helping sell a controversial national contract to a reluctant membership on strike. However, many Appalachian miners, in conflict with their national leaders, rejected Paycheck's intervention. Despite this specific response, "Take This Job and Shove It" already has touched the consciousness of many union members, although it has not reached them through regular labor educational channels. We do not know whether or not it will ever be incorporated into union song-books or rally songsheets, but we can assert safely that Paycheck will not have to seek employment as a union troubadour as long as recording royalties pour into him.

The photo reproduced here reminds us that song titles on banners do invoke the passion of the barricades. In this sense, a placard focuses a song's energy to make it immediately visible. Johnny Paycheck has been heard and seen widely in these past two years. Publicist Susan Binford, who first heard his song on a rough studio acetate, projected its message into a dramatic photo involving the spirit of past militancy. Photographer Clark Thomas made graphic Binford's imaginative thought and, in the process, helped all of us frame deep personal feelings about work. Even though "Shove It" speaks more to wish than to action, there is a certain symmetry in a Nashville rebel, fist raised, pictured on a picket line. A glossy photo of a country outlaw in an outlandish hat, however humorous, does suggest defiant fantasy to all underdogs, and, by extension, the potential of their joint action in organization. Dare any be free on the job?

In these seven graphic selections (broadside, two 78-rpm album covers, LP jacket cover, LP brochure, book dust wrapper, publicity photo) I have attempted to show something of the very great range in labor song. As well as urging

**TAKE THIS
JOB AND
SHOVE IT!**

**BOOK BINDERS
ON STRIKE**
Teamsters L.U. 327

**BOOK BINDERY
ON STRIKE**
Teamsters L.U. 327

ON STRIKE
Unfair Labor Practices
Teamsters Local 327

**BINDERY
IR-LABOR-PRACTICE
STRIKE**
Teamsters Local Union 327



JEMFO readers to listen to music from "the commonwealth of toil," I would suggest that this realm also has a parallel visual dimension. The arm-and-hammer icon now decorates baking soda cartons; it once decorated labor songbooks. The Wobblies used little red songbooks "to fan the flames of discontent: and complemented their poetry with sardonic graphics. After Joe Hill's execution by a prison firing squad in Utah in 1915, the IWW songbook featured his composi-

tions as well as pencil portraits memorializing him. We know that Nashville's Johnny Paycheck is not the martyred Joe Hill's heir, literally or spiritually. Nevertheless, in 1978, we accepted "Take This Job and Shove It" as a reminder that blue-collar blues touched our lives. Labor compositions have been and will continue to be vessels of fantasy and reality, despair and promise. These songs also serve as symbols for conflicting values within American life.

--Woodrow Wilson Center,
Smithsonian Institution

Hevener



John W. Hevener

University of Illinois Press

The Harlan County Coal Miners, 1931-39

THE HISTORY AND PERFORMANCE STYLE OF J. W. "BABE" SPANGLER, THE "OLD VIRGINIA FIDDLER"

By Larry V. Shumway and Tom Carter

[Larry V. Shumway has a Ph.D. in Ethnomusicology from the University of Washington and is an assistant professor of Humanities at Brigham Young University. He learned fiddling from his grandfather, K. C. Kartchner, who was a prominent fiddler in northeastern Arizona in the early 1900s. Tom Carter is a graduate student in Folklore and Folklife at Indiana University. His friendship with the Spangler family developed during the year he lived in Meadows of Dan working on a project for the National Endowment for the Humanities.]

This article offers a detailed account of the life and music of J. W. "Babe" Spangler, a fiddler and popular figure on both radio and phonograph around Richmond, Virginia during the 1920s and 30s. As leader of the "Old Virginia Fiddlers," Babe enjoyed a ten year stint performing over WRVA in Richmond in the years after 1927. On 14 October 1929, Spangler also recorded four sides for the Okeh Phonograph Company, though only two tunes were subsequently released.¹ Additionally, Babe won numerous fiddling contests, competed at the White Top Mountain Folk Festival, and was affiliated to some extent with the "folk revival" of the 1930s through his association with men like composer John Powell and Winston Wilkinson of the University of Virginia, as the following Richmond newspaper clipping of 7 February 1936 demonstrates:

Old-time fiddlers, banjoists and ballad singers fairly "make the welkin ring" last night at the Anderson Art Galleries as educators and musicians praised Virginia's folk music as the foundation upon which a state-wide musical culture can be built. The occasion was a special program of folk music arranged by John Powell, Richmond pianist, in connection with the closing exercises of a University of Virginia extension course in folk music given to some 30-odd Richmonders by Winston Wilkinson of Charlottesville. Led by Jim Chisolm, old-time Albemarle fiddler, the folk musicians presented old tunes and ballads. The musicians included Mrs. Victoria Morris and Lloyd Fitzgerald of Albemarle and the Spanglers, father and son, of Richmond.²

The first section of this article, compiled by Tom Carter, chronicles Spangler's career in music from its origins along the Blue Ridge of Patrick County up to and beyond his days as a professional musician in Richmond. The second section is devoted to a musical evaluation of Spangler's fiddling by Larry Shumway and includes transcriptions of three tunes which Babe recorded non-commercially in the 1940s. Though he was a popular entertainer for much of his life, Babe Spangler's fiddling remained essentially true to its roots in folk tradition and offers here an opportunity for us to look closely at an older Virginia fiddle style while at the same time understanding some of the source material which sustained the early country music industry.

John Watts "Babe" Spangler was born 15 November 1882 in Meadows of Dan, Patrick County, Virginia. His father, Wallace Wolford Spangler (1851-1926), was an extraordinary fiddler who achieved a healthy local reputation for his fine touch on the old reels and dance tunes. While adept at the Anglo-American fiddle style, the Virginia Spanglers look back to Germanic ancestry. Family tradition recalls that four Spengler (the original German spelling) brothers emigrated to Pennsylvania in the early 18th century,

settling in the Philadelphia area. Two or three of these brothers removed to Peterstown, West Virginia while the remaining one(s) pushed into the midwestern states. One of these brothers, Daniel Spengler (presumably now Americanized to Spangler) journeyed to Franklin County, Virginia where records in the Clerk's Office find him residing by 1787. Subsequent generations witnessed the family grow and slowly spread into both Floyd and Patrick Counties. Babe's grandfather, Richard Spangler, was born in Floyd County in 1813. Richard moved to Patrick County in 1835, locating in the Mayberry section which lies about a mile south of Meadows of Dan. The birth of Wallace W. Spangler in 1851 found the family comfortably settled into the fertile Virginia soil and already acquiring some mastery over the fiddling styles encountered in their new American home. According to Babe's brother "Tump" (Charles Langhorn Spangler, born 1885), Richard Spangler could play the fiddle reasonably well, but was not a musician of Wallace's calibre. Apparently Wallace's main training came from his half brother, Dick Scott, after a second marriage brought Lucretia Scott and her children into Richard Spangler's family. As Tump remembers:

Dad's father (Richard) could play "Chicken Pie In The Pepper Roll" and a few old time tunes like that, fairly well. But Dad had a brother that they said was a better fiddler than him. Uncle Dick Scott, now he could play "Bonaparte's Retreat" so that it would make you cry, make the drum beat and everything, plain as day. Dad learned from him.

Some of the tunes considered to be favorites of Wallace and Uncle Dick are "Billy In The Lowground," "Grey Eagle," "Moneymusk," "Sandy River Belles," "Rickett's Hornpipe," "Rye Straw," and "Ways Of The World."³ Older than Wallace, Dick Scott was killed during the Civil War. Wallace continued his playing and lived to watch a whole new generation "come up" under his tutelage during the late 1800s and early 1900s. In addition to his immediate family which included Babe, Tump, and their brother, Harry, Wallace's music served as a model for such fiddlers as Jesse and Pyrrhus Shelor, Lawrence Bolt, and Taylor Kimble.⁴ The legendary Henry Reed of Glen Lyn, Virginia, also mentioned a "Spangler from Floyd County" whose music deeply impressed him while he was working along the Blue Ridge.⁵ In the minds of many of the older people, the Spanglers form the musical nucleus of this particular section of Virginia.

As a boy, Babe grew into this exclusive musical atmosphere as the son of Wallace Spangler. Curiously enough, neither Babe nor his brother Tump began fiddling as youngsters. Tump remembers his father's fiddle being available, but no encouragement came from the old master to stimulate the boys' interest. In 1902, Babe and Tump went to Pittsburgh to work for a mail contractor and neither was playing much fiddle at that time. Perhaps because they missed



J. W. "Babe" Spangler receiving the silver cup for winning the Virginia State Fiddling Championship, 1927

Applause Memo.

EDGEWORTH RADIO STATION

W-R-V-A

Richmond, Virginia

The following comment on your Radio performance will no doubt be of interest to you:

I especially enjoyed J.W. Spangler. He is really the best Old Time Fiddler I've heard over W.R.V.A.

Philip Fiege
2204 E. Broad St.,
Richmond, Va.

LISTENER:

Cordially yours,
ELMER G. HOELZLE

Studio Director.

hearing the old music during their absence, the Pittsburgh experience kindled the boys' desire to fiddle themselves. Tump maintains that "Babe really learned to play the fiddle up there. We bought a little old fiddle when we were in Pittsburgh and he could play it right smart when we came home." Upon returning home the following year, both boys resolved to learn closely from their father. By 1906, when he moved to Richmond, Babe was thoroughly at ease with Wallace's Patrick County style. In Richmond, Babe secured employment as a guard at the state penitentiary. He married Gertrude Lynch and they had four children. The only boy, Wallace Henry, became proficient on both the guitar and banjo and later often accompanied his father over the radio and on personal appearances. By about 1920, Babe's eyes began to fail, a blindness triggered by the glaucoma which he inherited from his mother's family. Though total loss of sight would not come until he was in his sixties, Babe's impaired vision forced him from his state job. He then operated a grocery store and later a lumber business, but turned increasingly to his music. Thus, in the late 1920s, Babe became the Old Virginia Fiddler on WRVA.

The Old Virginia Fiddler played on WRVA's Corn Cob Pipe show which was aired nightly at eleven o'clock. Judging from the telegrams which poured into the station (a few of which are reproduced here, Figures 1 and 2), the show was extremely popular and reached an audience which covered a large portion of the North American continent. On his programs, Babe performed a mixture of the old fiddle tunes he had known from his youth as well as songs and tunes then currently in vogue. For the most part, Babe was backed by either Tom Grady or Dave Pearson on guitar and vocals. Harry Houchens, a neighbor from Patrick County, often played the banjo. The following program was broadcast on 3 January 1931 and illustrates the range of Babe's performance repertoire:

1. Arkansas Traveler
2. Hot Time In The Old Town
3. Liden Cotillion
4. When The Roses Bloom Again
5. Sally Ann
6. Little Dog Waltz
7. Whoa Mule
8. Wait For The Wagon
9. Make Me Down A Pallet
10. Floyd Collins
11. Rainbow
12. Sally Goodwin
13. Yellow Rose Of Texas
14. Forked Deer
15. Jubilee
16. Old Molly Hare
17. Going Back To Dixie

From this program and the many telegrams, we can see vividly the pressure which the radio audiences exerted over the performer. The local and regional repertoire had to be expanded to meet a listener demand which quite naturally was considerably diverse and on the popular order, though occasionally requests were made for the old breakdown fiddle tunes. A letter to Babe on 26 January 1930 from WRVA's Director for Public Relations, Walter Bishop, shows how audience response could be translated into action by the station's management. After enumerating a long list of popular tunes like "The Baggage Coach Ahead," "Darling Nellie Grey," "When Its Springtime In The Rockies," "Oh Where Has My Little Dog Gone," and "Waiting For A Train," Bishop notes:

We have had so many requests for the above numbers that we wish you would include them in your program as soon as possible. I imagine you know practically all of these, so get them ready for the air. We have a lot of requests for these songs.

During this early radio period, Babe won the Virginia State

fiddler's contest in Richmond, an event sponsored by the Richmond News Leader in June of 1927. Spangler won this contest at the Bijou Theatre over M. M. Ware of Richmond and J. H. Love of Kenbridge. On 7 June, WRVA presented a special noon broadcast of Spangler in recognition of his triumph. Babe's radio popularity and victory in the fiddler's contest undoubtedly lead to the Okeh recordings of 1929.

In 1930, Babe's brother Tump was elected to the state legislature and travelled to Richmond. While serving five terms as legislator over the next decade, Tump played regularly on the radio with Babe, billed as the Spangler Brothers or the Old Virginia Fiddlers. Though many of Tump's colleagues in the state house thought he spent too much time with his music, the brothers were decidedly a hit. Their popularity is substantiated by the 1938 letter (reproduced here, Figure 3) from the Lilly Land Company expressing an interest in signing the brothers to their station in Princeton, West Virginia. Tump played either the banjo or the fiddle in the band, and recalls some of the fascination of those early radio days:

Babe and I were playin' and a man from New York called the station, you know, and told 'em to throw that "Yellow Cat"⁶ back up here. The announcer, Pat Binford, he come in to the glass booth where we were and says, "some feller up in New York says he wants you to throw that 'Yellow Cat' back up there." Babe says, "all right" and he just cut down on it, you know. Pat come on back out, Pat got back outside and says to him, "Here it comes." and the feller says, "Is this it?" Then the feller in New York says, "You want to hear it?" He took the telephone receiver and held it to his radio up there. It was going up to New York by radio and comin' back to the station by telephone. For that time, that was something!

In 1934, the Spangler Brothers took part in the White Top Mountain Folk Festival held near Marion, Virginia.⁷ The band, consisting of Tump and Babe on fiddles, Harry Houchens on banjo, and Babe's son, Wallace, on guitar, placed second behind the Wohlford String Band--the hometown favorites. Babe also competed in the fiddle contest and again placed second, this time behind another local musician, Howard Wyatt of Konnarock.⁸ It should be noted that though Babe lived from 1906 on in Richmond, he remained close to his family in Meadows of Dan. On the occasion of his visits, dances were invariably held with Babe fiddling late into the night to please his enthusiastic friends. In the late 1940s, Babe went to WPAQ in Mt. Airy, North Carolina, where he recorded a number of fiddle tunes accompanied by Mrs. Maggie Wood, a guitarist from Meadows of Dan. These discs form the basis of the musical section of this paper and, together with the two issued Okeh sides, have been reissued by County Records of Floyd, Virginia (County 201). Babe left the radio station in the later thirties and ceased to fiddle professionally, though he continued to play until his death in 1970. Babe's son, Wallace, died unexpectedly in March of 1964.

The Patrick County area of Virginia's Blue Ridge is ably represented by Babe Spangler. The clear and clean articulation of his fiddling shows a precision of fingering and bowing which lifts him into the ranks of the really great fiddlers. The following transcriptions of three of his tunes illustrate some stylistic features of his fiddling. A word of caution, however, the essence of fiddling is in the sound and not in the written descriptions or notations. Too often musical analyses (and notations) become so far removed from their source that they tend to take on an entity of their own. The utility of the following notations and analyses lie in their ability to illuminate stylistic features of Spangler's fiddling. They are not to be considered as prescriptive but rather as annotated descriptions. There are numerous nuances and shadings which may be caught only through hearing the music.



The Old Virginia Fiddlers (l to r): Dave Pearson, Harry Houchens, Babe Spangler; performing for the Governor of Virginia, John G. Pollard, ca. 1932.

Applause Memo.

EDGEWORTH TOBACCO STATION

W - R - V - A

Richmond, Virginia

The following comment on your Radio performance will no doubt be of interest to you:

Oh Boy it sure was great when I heard an old Fiddler playing the other night. Can't tell you how much I enjoyed it. Wish I could be there. "When you and I were Young Maggie " is great. Please tell the boys to write to me.

LISTENER:

Mr S. H. Harger
R 4 Box 147

Applause Memo.

EDGEWORTH TOBACCO STATION

W - R - V - A

Richmond, Virginia

The following comment on your Radio performance will no doubt be of interest to you:

"Will you have the Old Virginia Fiddlers play for us the following numbers, "Marching Thro Georgia" or "Dream Train." Thanks.

LISTENER:

Mr & Mrs. R. A. McClellan,
Campaign, Tenn.

W R V A RICHMOND, VA.

C O P Y

Princeton, West Virginia

March 2, 1938

Mr. Walter R. Bishop
Director of Public Relations
Radio Station WRVA
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Bishop:

We thank you for your letter of February 25th, but regret the Spangler Brothers are not available for our program.

We have had about 550 consecutive thirty-minute programs on Station WHIS, strictly old time music. What we have been trying to do is to build up the best program of old time music in this section and our program at this time is considered the best. However, the Spangler Brothers are the best we have heard for some time and in the opinion of the writer if they were to attempt to commercialize their talent they would be able to go places.

We have a branch of our business at Roanoke, Virginia, and it might be that some time in the future we would be interested in some time on your good station.

We note you frequently visit in Bluefield, West Virginia, and any time you are in this section will be pleased to have you call on us.

Yours truly,
LILLY LAND COMPANY

(Signed) J H Lilly, President

JHL:LLM

The recordings from which these transcriptions came were made in the 1940s after Spangler was active in his radio work as noted above. Most fiddlers have their own versions of tunes going from variations only slightly different from other fiddlers to versions that are very unique but still within the boundaries acceptable for a given tune. Spangler's renditions of these three tunes are distinctive, particularly "Leather Britches" where the treatment of the first strain varies quite measurably from other recorded versions.

In looking at Spangler's versions of these three tunes two stylistic features come immediately to our attention; (a) melodic and/or rhythmic variations between the repeated stanzas, and (b) the pervasiveness of weak-beat accents. Two observations to be made here about the variations are first, the variations between the stanza renditions are not very great, and secondly, that some of the variations appear to be more intentional than others. It would be nice to be able to distinguish the unintentional ones which may have been the result of fatigue, momentary lapse, or a distraction.

Each of the three tunes is binary (AB) with each of the strains being repeated; thus a complete stanza would be AA'BB'. These stanzas are repeated 5-7 times. For purposes of comparison all versions of the A strain of each tune are laid out followed by all the versions of the B strain. The format is as follows:

1. The first strain of each piece is indicated by A with its repeat as A'.
2. The second strain of each piece is indicated as B with its repeat as B'. A complete playing of the two strains (AA'BB') is called a stanza.
3. The roman numerals indicate the variations as they appear with I being the strain played the first time.
4. The arabic numerals to the side of the roman numerals indicate which stanza the variations occur in; thus, 2A' means the repeat of the A strain in the second stanza.

LEATHER BRITCHES A Strain

LEATHER BRITCHES B Strain

Fig. 4a

A cursory examination of the various strains of each piece reveals, as noted above, that the variations are not very great and also that they are usually restricted to one or two measures. Another point to note is that a change of melody often involves a change also in the rhythm. The net result of these changes, subtle though they may be, is that in spite of the strains being repeated over and over the music does not sound repetitious. The overall unity of each piece is enlivened by elements of variety which make the music interesting.

The idea of variation as a technique in fiddling has had some currency; compare the discussions of Burman-Hall and Bayard.⁹ While we agree with some of their statements, it appears to us that talking about variation as an actual "technique" invests the concept and/or practice of variation with more validity than it merits, parti-

cularly with their implication that the variation is a bone fide technique which is quite widespread. Older fiddlers we know (and that is many) place a high premium on "playin' it right," i. e., playing the tune as close to their learning source as possible and then not changing it. There is a respect for both the old fiddlers who passed the tune on and for the integrity of the tune itself. A mistake during performance is often enough to stop the music altogether--when you get off the track all there is to do is stop. The tradition, of course, is flexible. It bends for the "oral" learning process and for individual expression, but only within an acceptable range. A tune pushed beyond that range either becomes another tune altogether or is seen as a sign of "deviancy" in the culprit responsible for the "changes." Deviancy itself is worth considering because it happens in traditions--all traditions--quite often. The point to be stressed, how-

MISSISSIPPI SAWYER A Strain

Measure I: 1A, 1A', 2A, 2A', 3A, 3A', 4A, 4A', 5A, 5A', 6A, 6A'. The notation shows a complex melodic line with many beamed eighth and sixteenth notes.

Measure II: 2A', 3A', 4A, 4A', 5A, 5A', 6A, 6A'. The notation shows a continuation of the melodic line with some rests.

Measure III: 6A'. The notation shows a single measure with a few notes.

Measure IV: 7A. The notation shows a single measure with a few notes.

MISSISSIPPI SAWYER B Strain

Measure I: 1B. The notation shows a complex melodic line with many beamed eighth and sixteenth notes.

Measure II: 1B', 2B'. The notation shows a continuation of the melodic line with some rests.

Measure III: 2B. The notation shows a continuation of the melodic line with some rests.

Measure IV: 3B, 4B. The notation shows a continuation of the melodic line with some rests.

Measure V: 3B', 4B', 5B, 5B', 6B, 6B'. The notation shows a continuation of the melodic line with some rests.

Measure VI: 6B. The notation shows a continuation of the melodic line with some rests.

Measure VII: 6B'. The notation shows a continuation of the melodic line with some rests.

ever, is that variation is not something which is strived for and consciously contemplated by the older fiddlers. It seems, rather, that there is a little freedom within a very tight and rigid structure.

A distinction must be made between variations which are implicit or idiomatic and those which are consciously worked out. As one conceptual idea may be expressed in several ways using words which are different but similar in meaning, so musical ideas may be expressed in several ways. Thus there may be several ways to express or realize the same musical idea or tune in the mind of a fiddler which are idiomatic to him and/or his milieu. There is a great deal of difference between both the role and the structure of

these types of variations and the more elaborate and self-conscious types of variations which seem to be fostered in some segments of the folk fiddling revival. In the former the role is to enliven while in the latter the changes are more extensive and extreme. In the latter, as sometimes occurs in contest fiddling, the subtleties and nuances of the music are made explicit and are exploited as a vehicle to impress the listeners with the fiddler's technique. Attention is drawn from the music as an expression of a fiddling aesthetic and focused on the fiddler as a person.

In recent times there has been a renaissance of interest in old timey stuff. We need to be aware, however, that in an effort to preserve folk art something else is

COON DOG A Strain

Figure 4c displays the musical notation for the 'COON DOG A Strain'. The score is written for six staves, labeled I through VI. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The first staff (I) is marked with a '14' and contains a complex melodic line. The subsequent staves (II through VI) show variations of the theme, with some staves (II, III, IV, V, VI) having additional markings like '1A', '6A', '5A', '2A', '3A', '4A', '5A', '6A', '7A', '8A', '9A', '10A', '11A', '12A', '13A', '14A', '15A', '16A', '17A', '18A', '19A', '20A', '21A', '22A', '23A', '24A', '25A', '26A', '27A', '28A', '29A', '30A', '31A', '32A', '33A', '34A', '35A', '36A', '37A', '38A', '39A', '40A', '41A', '42A', '43A', '44A', '45A', '46A', '47A', '48A', '49A', '50A', '51A', '52A', '53A', '54A', '55A', '56A', '57A', '58A', '59A', '60A', '61A', '62A', '63A', '64A', '65A', '66A', '67A', '68A', '69A', '70A', '71A', '72A', '73A', '74A', '75A', '76A', '77A', '78A', '79A', '80A', '81A', '82A', '83A', '84A', '85A', '86A', '87A', '88A', '89A', '90A', '91A', '92A', '93A', '94A', '95A', '96A', '97A', '98A', '99A', '100A'.

COON DOG B Strain

Figure 4c displays the musical notation for the 'COON DOG B Strain'. The score is written for five staves, labeled I through V. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The first staff (I) is marked with a '18' and contains a complex melodic line. The subsequent staves (II through V) show variations of the theme, with some staves (II, III, IV, V) having additional markings like '18', '19', '20', '21', '22', '23', '24', '25', '26', '27', '28', '29', '30', '31', '32', '33', '34', '35', '36', '37', '38', '39', '40', '41', '42', '43', '44', '45', '46', '47', '48', '49', '50', '51', '52', '53', '54', '55', '56', '57', '58', '59', '60', '61', '62', '63', '64', '65', '66', '67', '68', '69', '70', '71', '72', '73', '74', '75', '76', '77', '78', '79', '80', '81', '82', '83', '84', '85', '86', '87', '88', '89', '90', '91', '92', '93', '94', '95', '96', '97', '98', '99', '100'.

Fig. 4c

usually created. Everywhere there was a folk art tradition there now exists a new self-conscious, pseudo folk art tradition. This self-consciousness has tended to lead to a sophistication and an emphasis on technique which, while retaining the outer aspects of form has lost to varying degrees the inner essence. This becomes apparent in the sponsored revivals of folk art such as the ubiquitous fiddling contest where people are competing for prize money and/or prestige by exhibiting an art which was originally not intended for such exhibition. For competition there have to be rules and for rules there has to be a certain degree of standardization. Judging is to be done within the framework of the rules which in the interest of standardization very often place undue emphasis on speedy or flashy technique, and at the same time eliminate some of fiddling's most essential or unique elements, such as pieces using cross tuning or shuffle bowing, to name but two. If contest fiddle music becomes equated in people's minds with traditional fiddling, proscribing as it so often does important segments of the repertoire, we fear that some of our most valuable music traditions will have been lost. This is not to say that fiddling contests are bad per se, only that the essence of old fiddle music is usually somewhere else and we should be aware of this.

If the reader feels we are leaning over backwards to make a point he is right. There is nothing wrong with change and variation per se so long as we recognize it for what it is, making the distinction between change evolving unconsciously from an aesthetic framework and change being wrought self-consciously, for whatever reason.

As an example of the subtlety of "Babe" Spangler's use of variations we call attention to the first strain of "Leather Britches" shown above (Figure 4). The bulk of the variations occur in measures 1-2 and measures 5-6, which from a melodic standpoint are very nearly the same.

At first glance one might be tempted to say that the sequence of A strains shows a constant variation. However, if we note that III 1-2 is very nearly the same as II 5-6, and that IV 1-2 and V 1-2 are nearly the same as III 1-2 the idea that there is a sequence of evolving variations in each strain begins to break down. One is tempted to posit the theory that in Spangler's mind there was a given number of ways to realize the first strain and that most if not all of the ways would appear in a random sequence any time he played "Leather Britches."

Sawing on open strings (droning) and a driving rhythm are two stylistic features Spangler's fiddling shares to a greater or lesser degree with all fiddling styles. The droning in these three pieces is rather ordinary and is all of the open string variety with the one exception of measures 3-4 of the B strain of "Mississippi Sawyer" where we find a fingered drone sequence.

The driving rhythm of these tunes is a much more notable feature and it is this which, in our opinion, separates the artistic from the ordinary talent. Rhythmic vitality as well as tone quality come, of course, from bowing control and technique. To neglect fiddle bowing technique is to miss much of the essence and subtlety of fiddling style, and it seems incredible that to date so little has been said or written about it in the literature.

Spangler's sense of rhythmic subtlety is superb. In his fiddling the basic bowing style is much like that of the Baroque era, stopping the bow briefly between eighth or quarter notes and with some pressure on the bow making it dig or bite into the string a little on the next note. Such technique is particularly effective in accenting weak beats and in upbow or down bow portato strokes.¹⁰ Essential to this driving rhythm is the prevalence of weak beat accents. Strong beats, of course, receive plenty of accent, most usually, it appears, from a down bow. On the other hand there is a pervasiveness of accented weak

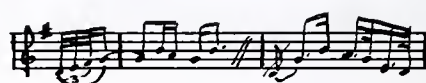
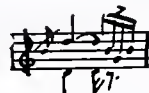
beats coming not only on the 1/2 beat but also on the 1/4 and 3/4 beats. In some fiddling styles the accented weak beats are done primarily with an up bow but in the absence of visual data we can only surmise how Spangler bowed these pieces. Note that the weak beat accents are marked in the transcriptions but little attempt has been made to mark the bowing. The essential point to note here is that these weak beat accents are characterized mainly by the bow biting into the string as it changes direction. There is occasionally even a thrown bow (the bow actually leaves the string) which is marked in the transcriptions by a double slash(//).

There are many environments in which the weak beat accents occur with the most common ones being the following:

- (a) tying or slurring from a weak to strong beat, sometimes with the slur encompassing a grace note run which seems to help the melody gather power with an implied crescendo as it goes up to the next strong beat as seen in Figure 5. Note that the main note, i. e., the note of the strong beat, is arrived at just before the beat giving an added feeling of syncopation.

"Leather Britches," B, I 3

"Leather Britches," A, I 1-2



"Coon Dog," A, II 4-5

"Mississippi Sawyer," B, I 1-2

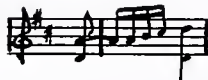


Fig. 5

- (b) a figure similar to (a) above but with the slur beginning on a strong beat and arriving at the main melody note off the beat as seen in Figure 6.

"Leather Britches," A, III 1-2



Fig. 6

- (c) accent on a 1/2 beat which sometimes also involves a tying over from a weak to strong beat as in Figure 7.

"Mississippi Sawyer," B, I 1-2

"Coon Dog," B, IV 5

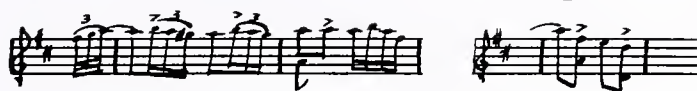


Fig. 7



- (d) slurred or bowed uneven groupings of 16th notes with an accent on one of the weak beats as in Figure 8.

"Leather Britches," A, II 5-6

"Leather Britches," B, I 7



Fig. 8

One more element which contributes to both the driving rhythm and the sense of variation is the contrast between dotted 16th () and running 16th () note figures as is seen in the A strain of "Leather Britches." Note that measures 2, 4, and 8 all show the dotted variety while other measures show either the straight running 16th note figure or a mixture of the two. The presence of both figures coming close upon each other indicates that Spangler differentiated between the two.

While there may be perhaps some other avenues of inquiry and analysis, our statement about the essence of fiddling being in the sound and not in what might be said about it still stands, and we refer the interested reader to the recent release of these tunes by County Records in an album from their Rare Recordings Series entitled The Old Virginia Fiddlers.

FOOTNOTES

1. Okeh 45387 features two pieces, "Patrick County Blues" and "Midnight Serenade," with guitar accompaniment by Dave Pearson. The first tune is actually "Rochester Schottische" while the title of the later obscures the well known "Darling Child" (see Charlie LaPrade, County 407). "Midnight Serenade" was Spangler's theme song on WRVA. Spangler and Pearson recorded two unissued sides, "Climbing Up The Golden Stairs" and "Golden Slippers." We are grateful to Dave Freeman of County Records for recording data and to Babe's daughter, Mrs. Jean Hollins, for important biographical details, including the telegrams, letters, and photographs used in this article.
2. Powell was a composer who used folk tunes for inspiration and expresses his ideas concerning the "revival" of Virginia folk music in "Virginia Finds Her Folk Music: How the Southern State Was Led to Discover and Revive Its Traditional Tunes of the People," *Musical Courier* (23 April 1932), pp. 6, 7, 10. Powell's article has been reprinted in *JEMFQ*, 6:19 (Autumn 1970), 119-124. Wilkinson wrote an article focusing on Jim Chisolm's fiddling entitled, "Virginia Dance Tunes," *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, 6:1 (March 1942), 1-10.
3. Tump Spangler still plays these tunes. He recalls that the old timers knew two versions of "Billy In The Lowground," one in the key of G and the other in C, but the G version was the most popular. "Ways Of The World" as the Spanglers play it is not the same as either previously recorded tunes by this title: see W. M. Stepp (AFS 1569 A2) and Luther Strong (AFS 1536 A1). "Grey Eagle" is not the melody commonly associated with that title, but rather very close to Henry Reed's "Ducks On The Pond"; see the Red Clay Ramblers (Folkways 31039).
4. Jesse and Pyrrhus Shelor performed on the Shelor Family (or Dad Blackard's Moonshiners) Victor Records. Taylor Kimble's fiddling may be heard on Blue Ridge Barn Dance (County 747).
5. See, (Unpublished) Fieldnotes to Alan Jabbour's collection of fiddle music from the Southern United States during the years 1965-67, Archive of Folk Song, Library of Congress.
6. "Yellow Cat" is a popular Patrick County dance tune more widely known as "Cousin Sally Brown."
7. For a discussion of the festival and its goals, see Joe Hickerson's bibliography of relevant material in *JEMFQ*, 6:19 (Autumn, 1970), 125.
8. George Pullen Jackson, "Ballad Art Revived at White Top Festival," *Musical America*, 53:14 (September 1934), 8.
9. Samuel P. Bayard, *Hill Country Tunes* (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, Memoirs, vol. 39, 1944). Linda C. Burman, "The Technique of Variation in an American Fiddle Tune: A Study of Sail Away Lady As Performed in 1926 by Uncle Bunt Stevens," *Ethnomusicology*, 12 (January, 1968), 49-71. Linda C. Burman-Hall, "Southern American Folk Fiddle Tunes," *Ethnomusicology*, 19 (January, 1975), 47-65.
10. The wrist of the bowing arm is very loose while the arm itself is rather stiff; the driving power comes from the shoulder as much as from the triceps and biceps. Held loosely in the fingers, often only between the thumb and forefinger, the bow is very sensitive to change of direction or to a pulse in the same direction. The weight of the arm adds enough pressure to the bow to make it bite into the string, thus giving an accent at the change of direction or added pulse.

ALVA BELCHER, NINETEENTH CENTURY PRECURSOR OF NORTHERN COUNTRY MUSIC TRADITION

by Simon J. Bronner

Regional studies of country music have a tendency to focus on representative musicians whom informants refer to as a common reference point. Studies of these musicians, I hope, do not mistake examples as patterns, but rather are indications of traditions which are influential in a community or region. One should not assume that regional traditions constitute a monotype but rather are a designation to be compared and contrasted with other historical evidence in country music. Partly as an illustration of these points I have cited the Woodnull family as being especially influential in the Central New York Area in previous articles published in the JEMF Quarterly.¹ Its performance of old-time music dates from the last quarter of the nineteenth century but the identification of musicians even earlier still remains to be done.

The search for shared traditions among performers and audiences and the identification of new ones in *statu nascendi* as aspects of regional study have been basic themes underlying much of recent scholarship. A concomitant direction has been the interrelationship between folk and popular traditions and the continuity between the past and the present. Such a case occurred in my observations in central New York as I attempted to trace the development of the country music tradition from its incipient stages. Precedents in the nineteenth century are especially significant when contemporary musicians make connections with that period. Thus I was drawn to a description in the Andes Recorder of 22 January 1926 of Alva Belcher.² In this short piece the anonymous author commented on the similarity between the current old time broadcasts and the music of Belcher from Delhi, New York, in the 1880s and 1890s. Then I noticed an article by John E. Raitt on 10 February 1977 for the Delaware Republican-Express serving Delhi, Andes, and the rest of Delaware County in New York. Raitt recounted a fire in 1866 which included the Belcher grocery store in Delhi. He wrote, "Alva Belcher, besides selling groceries, peanuts, and candy was famous as about the best black violinist in the area."³ My subsequent correspondence with Mr. Raitt revealed that Belcher was still renowned in the area and certainly is considered an influence on the area's old-time musical traditions.⁴ "Belcher's Reel," for example, was collected at Prattsville, New York, in Greene County, as late as 1948 from fiddler Wordell Martin by Sam Eskin. The original discs are in the collections

of the New York State Historical Association but tape copies have been submitted to the John Edwards Memorial Foundation and to me.

Of particular interest is Belcher's obituary printed on 10 January 1900 in the Delaware Gazette.

"ALVA BELCHER died at his home in Kingston, New York, last Saturday aged 81 years. He was long a resident of this village, where he kept a grocery, but his chief business and life work was furnishing music to hops, parties, and other entertainment. He organized the famous Belcher Band, and probably supplied the music to more entertainments and parties than any other person in this vicinity. He had a loud and distinct voice and his services were solicited far and near. He was always pleasant and had a good word for all. A few years ago he married a wife in Kingston, and went there to reside. He leaves a widow, his third wife, to mourn his loss. He had no children. Burial at Kingston."⁵

The Gazette was printed on Wednesdays so that it could be presumed that Belcher's death occurred on Saturday, 6 January 1900 and his date of birth is in 1819. It is unclear whether he was born into slavery since a gradual emancipation law was passed in New York in 1799 abolishing all slavery by 1827. Belcher must have performed right up to the time of his death as another entry in the Delaware Gazette of 11 January 1899 states that, "Belcher was in Delhi, Monday. He was heard to sing out 'honors all'."⁶ Also implicit in the obituary is the social function that old-time music performed by being an intrinsic part of the hops cycle. Other examples are included in my previously published studies.

The events of 6 February 1866, put Belcher in the limelight even more as a spectacular fire engulfed his store and his home in addition to several other buildings in the public square on Main Street.⁷ Apparently Belcher rebuilt his store since an entry in the Delaware Gazette of 26 July 1871, claimed that "Alva Belcher has his store enclosed..."⁸ He sold the property in 1879 and it is thought that he subsequently devoted his time solely to performing in the area. By most accounts, Belcher performed a combination of traditional fiddle tunes and

(Cont'd on p. 223)

G23682	TEX MORTON	T1635	Old Man Duff
21 Nov 1938		T1639	Crime Does Not Pay
G23689	NORWOOD TEW assisted by MRS. TEW	OA07017	Your Mother Still Prays for You
		OA07018	When the Cactus Blooms, I'll be Waiting
G23690	BOB SKYLES & HIS SKYROCKETS	OA022075	Lookin' for the Girl of My Dreams
		OA022071	Mr. Bazooka and Miss Clarinet
G23693	BOB MacGIMSEY	OA69605	Shadrach
		OA69606	Religion Ain't Nothing to Play With
G23699	THREE TOBACCO TAGS	OA026937	Darling, The Answer Is in This Song
		OA026948	If I Only Had a Home Sweet Home
G23700	CLAUDE CASEY & HIS PINE STATE PLAYBOYS	OA027735	You're the Only Star in my Blue Heaven
		OA027732	My Memory Lane
G23702	THE HILL BILLIES	AR5169-1	Granny's Old Arm Chair
		AR5170-1	Carry Me Back to Old Virginny
G23708	WILF CARTER	OA86386	Yodelling Hillbilly
		OA023191	By the Grave of Nobody's Darling
G23709	WILF CARTER	OA101424	Keep Smiling Old Pal
		OA102253	Under the Light of the Texas Moon
G23710	WILF CARTER	OA102278	Old Barn Dance
		OA06186	When the Sun Says Goodnight to the Prairie
G23711	WILF CARTER	OA102073	Broken Down Cowboy
		OA7827	Down the Old Cattle Trail
G23712	WILF CARTER	B4602A	The Fate of Old Strawberry Roan
		B4969A	Twilight on the Prairie
G23713	WILF CARTER	B4997B	The Smoke Went up the Chimney Just the Same
		OA102282	My Faithful Pinto Pal
G23714	WILF CARTER	B4966A	The Capture of Albert Johnson
		OA101423	The Rescue From Moose River Gold Mine
G23719	ARTHUR SMITH & HIS DIXIELINERS	OA027753	Why Should I Wonder?
	TOM DICKEY SHOW BOYS	OA028729	It Makes No Difference Now
G23720	HERALD GOODMAN & HIS TENNESSEE VALLEY BOYS	OA027726	The Lamplighter's Dream
		OA027727	Dad's Little Boy
G23732	THE HILL BILLIES	AR5235-1	It's a Lonely Trail (When You're Travellin' All Alone)
		AR5232-1	There's a Moon on the Mountain
G23734	THE HILL BILLIES	AR5233-1	All Ahso
		AR5234-1	Yippi Tiyo (Get Along Little Dogies)
G23736	HARRY TORRANI	AR5268-1	Starlight Serenade
		AR5270-1	The Cuckoo Waltz
G23746	THE GIRLS OF THE GOLDEN WEST (MILDRED AND DOROTHY GOOD)	C2132	Roamin' in the Gloamin'
		C2139	Texas Moon
G23749	THE TUNE WRANGLERS	OA28603	Singing Clarinet
		OA28601	You Lost a Friend
G23750	THE TUNE WRANGLERS	OA28599	Let's Make Believe We're Sweethearts
		OA014157	Cowboys and Indians
G23751	NORWOOD TEW	OA027714	Two Little Lads
		OA27713	If You Meet a Tramp
G23752	TOM DICKEY SHOW BOYS	OA28732	Schottische
		OA28735	That's All I Want to Know
G23756	TEX MORTON	T1662	Bonny Blue Eyes
9 May 1939		T1663	My Old Bunkhouse Buddies
G23757	TEX MORTON	T1664	Travel by Train
9 May 1939		T1665	Murrumbidgee Jack

G23766 10 May 1939	GIL HARRIS	T1667 T1666	True Blue Gil Hobo's Meditation
G23767	GIL HARRIS	T1669 T1668	Pistol Packin' Poppa The Husband's Plea
G23775 12 May 1939	THE SINGING STOCKMEN (Norm & Arthur Scott)	T1656 T1657	There's a Home in Wyomin' Downby the Old Mill Stream
G23776 12 May 1939	THE SINGING STOCKMEN (Norm & Arthur Scott)	T1658 T1659	Let's Grow Old Together When the Harvest Moon is Shining
G23777 12 May 1939	THE SINGING STOCKMEN (Norm & Arthur Scott)	T1660 T1661	Colorado Sunset Little Red Barn
G23780	TWILIGHT TRAILBOYS	OA028827 OA028826	Little Ah Sid Press Along to the Big Corral
G23786	HARRY TORRANI	AR5267-1 AR5269-1	Mountain Home Yodel Yodelling Bunk-House Boy
G23789	THE TUNE WRANGLERS	OA028594 OA028595	Kalua Sweetheart Rio Grande Lullaby
G23790	ADOLPH HOFNER & HIS TEXANS	OA028590 OA028592	Someone Is Alone Little Brown-Eyed Lady
G23792	JIMMY BARBER	OA026950 OA026951	Just the Same Old Story There's Nothing Quite So Lovely As You
G23795	THE HILL BILLIES	AR5351-1 AR5350-1	There's a Ranch in the Rockies The Cabin in the Hills
G23802	DE ZURIK SISTERS (Caroline & Mary Jane)	C2407 C2410	I Left Her Standing There The Arizona Yodeller
G23817	THE HILL BILLIES	AR5364-1 AR5365-1	The Range Beyond the Sky In Ole Oklahoma
G23840	HARRY TORRANI	AR5404-1 AR5405-1	Lonesome Baby My Yodelling Lady
G23844	WILF CARTER	OA035758 OA035759	Answer to It Makes No Difference Now Roll Along Kentucky Moon
G23849 11 Sept 1939	TEX MORTON	T1684 T1685	Dreams of Silver Rocky Ned
G23850 May 1940	THE HILL BILLIES	AR5414-1 AR5415-1	The Banjo Song Out in Califor-ni-a
G23853 11 Sept 1939	TEX MORTON	T1686 T1687	I'll Be Hanged if They're Gonna Hang Me I'm Gonna Yodel My Way to Heaven
G23854 7 Sept 1939	BUDDY WILLIAMS	T1692 T1693	That Dapple Grey Broncho of Mine They Call Me the Rambling Yodeller
G23855 7 Sept 1939	BUDDY WILLIAMS	T1690 T1691	Give a Little Credit to your Dad Lonesome for You Mother Dear
G23856 7 Sept 1939	BUDDY WILLIAMS	T1688 T1689	The Orphan's Lament My Moonlight Lullaby
G23861	WILF CARTER	OA035757 OA028907	What Difference Does It Make? Golden Lariat

G23875 May 1940	HARRY TORRAN1	AR5457 AR5456	Fireside Yodel Dutch Girl Yodel
G23882 27 Oct 1939	SMILIN' BILLY BLINKHORN	T1709 T1708	Poor Ned Kelly Sweetheart Yodel
G23883 27 Oct 1939	SMILIN' BILLY BLINKHORN	T1710 T1707	Weary Cowboy Wreck of the Old 97
G23884 27 Oct 1939	SMILIN' BILLY BLINKHORN	T1711 T1706	Mother's Lullaby Back to the Old Carriboo
G23895 20 Nov 1939	TEX MORTON	T1721 T1720	The Day I Left Daddy Alone The Original Ned Kelly Song
[Note: Later pressings show T1720 as "The Ned Kelly Song"]			
G23896 20 Nov 1939	TEX MORTON & PAT FRALEY	T1718 T1719	Hand Me Down My Walking Cane Let the Rest of the World Go By
G23906	THE HILL BILLIES	AR5413-1	You're the Only Star (In My Blue Heaven)
G23914	THE HILL BILLIES	AR5412-1	There's a Hole in the Old Oaken Bucket
G23932 May 1940	WILF CARTER	OA102264 OA028044	I Just Can't Forget You, Old Pal Down the Yodelling Trail at Twilight
G23933 30 Nov 1939	TEX MORTON	T1734 T1735	Billy Brink the Shearer Little Sweetheart of Days Gone By
G23934 30 Nov 1939	TEX MORTON	T1736 T1737	When the Bloom is on the Sage Sleepy Hollow
G23935 May 1940	THE THREE TOBACCO TAGS	OA032660 OA032667	Just an Old Lady I'm Longing for My Carolina Home
G23937 May 1940	HERALD GOODMAN & HIS TENNESSEE VALLEY BOYS	OA027720 OA027728	The Old Mountain Man Banjo Rag
G23938 May 1940	GENE AUTRY	LA1847 LA1853	Paradise in the Moonlight When I First Laid Eyes on You
G23943 May 1940	JIMMY BARBER	? ?	Just a Golden Dream Just this Side of Heaven
G23952 May 1940	VERNON DALHART & HIS BIG CYPRUS BOYS	OA036631 OA036628	Johnny Darlin' You'll Never Take Away My Dreams
G23953 May 1940	WILF CARTER	OA028041 OA028047	The Little Red Patch on the Seat of My Trousers Rootin' Tootin' Cowboy
G23970 June 1940	BOB WILLS & HIS TEXAS PLAYBOYS/LIGHT CRUST DOUGHBOYS	DAL627 DAL655	I Wonder if You Feel the Way I Do? Pussy, Pussy, Pussy
G23971 7 Mar 1940	SMILIN' BILLY BLINKHORN	T1739 T1740	The Mailman's Warning Can't You Take It Back and Change It for a Boy?
G23972 7 Mar 1940	SMILIN' BILLY BLINKHORN	T1741 T1742	There's a Hole in the Old Oaken Bucket My Dear Old Arizona Home
G23973 7 Mar 1940	SMILIN' BILLY BLINKHORN	T1743 T1744	Leanin' on the Old Top Rail Colorado Blues
G23974 June 1940	CLAUDE CASEY & HIS PINE STATE PLAYBOYS	OA027734 OA027738	I'm So Lonesome Tonight Old Missouri Moon

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

TRUTH IS STRANGER THAN PUBLICITY: ALTON DELMORE'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY. Edited, with an introduction, commentary, and discography by Charles K. Wolfe (Nashville: Country Music Foundation Press, 1977); ix + 188 pp; \$5.95.

If you are a no more than minimally effective and marginally principled one-term state legislator from one of the more sparsely populated counties of Georgia or Montana, or even a tenured and "published" professor at a third-rate university, you may be reasonably sure that some official written record of your pilgrimage through life will remain when you cross over Jordan. That assurance is afforded by our sense of what is "historically significant," our official record-keeping and life-documenting machinery, and the predispositions of most scholars and archivists. At best one can count on an official biography, perhaps subsidized with public funds. At worst, a half-column in Who's Who in the Upper Midwest will telegraph the essential details.

But if the public has known you only as a country picker and singer, it's up to your wife (or husband), your children, a few admiring fellow musicians, fans and discographers to keep your memory alive. And should one of them decide that the story of your life would interest a larger audience, the task of piecing it together from a few scraps of documentary evidence is likely to be difficult.

Even for the better known country musicians, the story is likely to remain sketchy. How full a story do we have, after all, of even Bill Monroe and Kitty Wells, not to mention Vernon Dalhart, Eck Robertson, and Charlie Poole? For the details of professional lives we scan radio station or record company files and personal appearance notices in local newspapers. For insight into "inner" lives we are driven to reading song lyrics as autobiographical statements, or inferring values and world-views from repertoire lists--a risky business at best.

Fortunately, we have recently begun to realize the biases and limitations of conventional historiography, and have turned some of our attention to those who have heretofore been absent from the history books: women, ethnic minorities, ordinary working people--even early country musicians. In that endeavor, we have relied heavily on "oral history" (in addition, of course, to discography).

Reading Alton Delmore's autobiography made me aware that oral history, whose premises I understand and accept, is based on at least one questionable assumption: that the have-nots, "uneducated" people, don't write. Thus, if one wishes to get a coherent historical statement from such a person, one must take a tape recorder. It's all in oral tradition, you know.

I have not worked intimately with a great many traditional or country musicians, but among the few I have known, evidence of an urge to write has cropped up rather frequently. Numerous ones have said to me, "Someday I'm gonna' write a book about that." The sense that one's life "means something," the perception that one has participated in events whose significance extends beyond the merely personal, the wish to make one's vision and life learnings available to others is apparently well-nigh universal among human beings.

Attempts to communicate one's life in writing are therefore, I suspect, more widespread than we are presently aware. (Loyal Jones reports that among Buell Kazee's papers is an unpublished autobiography.) They may be especially widespread among musicians, who by nature are creative, sensitive, and introspective. Why haven't we discovered more journals, diaries and autobiographies among them? Cecil Sharp told people he was looking for unaccompanied ballads, so they didn't tell him they also played banjos and sang gospel songs. "Why didn't you tell me you had written that?" "You didn't ask me." Perhaps the Alton Delmores and Buell Kazees read the message all too clearly: the discographer wants the physical artifacts of their careers, and the oral historian wants their after-the-fact, off-the-cuff oral reflections upon it. Why should one risk revealing one's written attempts to trace the pattern and read the meaning of one's life and work?

In any case, although during his lifetime he couldn't summon the courage to reveal it, Alton Delmore wrote his autobiography. Some imaginative sleuthing, reassembling, and editing by Charles Wolfe has made it available in this edition. Together with an introduction, an editorial

postscript on "The Delmores' Last Years," and a discography, it tells us far more about the Delmores than we have known before: about Alton's own inner life, his relationship with his family --and especially with Rabon, and his dealings with radio stations, record companies, personal managers, booking agents, other musicians, theater-chain owners, and Opry personnel.

For Alton Delmore, the urge to write books, to play music, and to make some durable contribution to humanity were closely related. "My real interest in music began," he tells us, "when I heard my Uncle Will Williams and his family singing hymns. He could write songs and sing them too and they were in books and his name was on them and they were very beautiful." Later he says,

I had always wanted to write novels and short stories but I didn't get much encouragement from the folks at home. Sometimes people just don't understand a fellow when he is trying to be something they think is away off in the stars. I would steal away to some room . . . and write for hours and about time I really got started writing, . . . my dad would come around to warn me I was off my rocker . . . and then I would reluctantly decide to quit for the time being . . . You never lose the urge to write once you have the yen for it. But my song writing helped me to stand the push you get for being creative. The songs satisfied partially, but not wholly, my desire to do something lastingly worthwhile. (27)

The question here is whether Delmore has done "something lastingly worthwhile," and if so, what and for whom.

For scholars of country music, the Delmore autobiography will likely be a mine of raw data--not only on the Delmores, but also on many of their associates and some of the larger patterns in the history of commercial country music. Delmore himself does not explicate those patterns, however; the autobiography is a diary-like event-by-event narrative which is in fact frequently tedious to read. It is most engaging at the beginning, when Delmore talks about his early life in a share-cropper's family ("We never had any land and there was a big family of us . . ."), where he learned a good deal about class relationships. "The lie is used strongly," he tells us, "to endorse the whims of the privileged."

The book's limited stylistic appeal lies in its utter frankness ("I never did really care for 'The Great Speckled Bird'"), its lack of guile and pretense, its unselfconsciousness. Its structure is laid bare like the steel beams in a modern building. "Now I will get into the next chapter," Delmore says at one point. "But stay with me. There are several more rambling chapters to come."

The problem is that--much as he yearned to be--Delmore was not a writer of books. Consider the following passage, a rather spectacularly concentrated example of his stylistic problems:

We lived in Greenville, South Carolina for a short while and I think it has to be mentioned to keep the trend of our sojourn around the country in the perspective that will enable the reader to keep the trend of how we had to go when we lived just like a gang of gypsies while on the road trying to make a living. It was a really hard lift [life?] and the odds seemed to be always against us but we got through it.

I cite this passage not to poke fun at Delmore, or to belittle his gift to us. Rather it seems to me that a glimpse at his style may reveal a good deal about the culture from which he came, and perhaps ultimately about his expressive life as a musician.

The core of the problem is that, as I read his book, Delmore was in a sense bilingual, and neither language proved very serviceable. His first language was the colloquial speech of his family and community; the second was an acquired "literary" language. At its best, the former sometimes allowed him to turn a graphic phrase, but in the main it is devoid of the texture of sharp image, arresting aphorism, illuminating simile, and rich metaphor folklorists customarily associate with colloquial or folk speech. It is instead compositionally formulaic (with a very few, very simple formulas) and ridden with clichés. It creates a world in which "after all, mother knew best" (3), and "Every cloud has a silver lining" (38), in which a combo has "a lot of punch" (74), something makes "a whale of a difference" (76), someone is "as common as an old shoe" (126), people are "out in left field" or "on Cloud 9" (137), and one leaves a theater after a good performance "walking on air" (88) or a tour where the show dates weren't profitable feeling "worse than hell" (142).

Such language is utterly unequal to the communicative task. Thus when Delmore says he is going to tell me "how I feel about Jimmie Rodgers," I am eager to listen, dozens of questions running through my head. What does he actually say? "He was simply the greatest" (98).

So this is one of his languages. The other--which for want of a better label might be called "late Victorian popular literary"--can be dispensed with quickly. It was never very attractive or serviceable even in the most skillful of hands, and in Delmore's it is even less so. He doesn't use

it often, but when he does--as when he speaks of "memories . . . fraught with the fond expectancy of life" (4)--it leaves one wondering what Alton Delmore was trying to say. It is self-conscious, affected, stilted, and ultimately unexpressive language.

The simple communicative inadequacy of Delmore's language is therefore one problem. The other is more serious. I don't pretend to be a sociolinguist, but I have a couple of hunches about the social, cultural and psychological implications of the language of this Autobiography: (1) Delmore's "bilingualism" is a metaphor for his anxious biculturalism; and (2) the prosaic formulas of his own colloquial speech reflects the dominant world view of his culture, and reveals something about why that world view makes it difficult to cope with complex realities.

Consider the following:

It was a fine morning in the Fall of the year when we left our home on the Brown's Ferry Road, starting out on the long, eventful journey . . . I will try to tell some of the things that happened on the way that will let you in on the way country boys do things when they are full of anxiety and know nothing much except the price of cotton . . . (31).

The language here is (for the most part, anyway) crisp and evocative, I think, because of all the events on that "eventful journey," Delmore understood this one best. Alton Delmore came from the wrong side of the tracks culturally, and throughout his life he both affirmed and regretted that fact. He wanted to leave Brown's Ferry immediately and stay there forever. He perceived it as a source of strength ("Those people, my kinfolks, had their stories, legends, and superstitions that were handed down . . .") and as a socially and professionally embarrassing liability. He wanted to just be, and to become. He was a rough-hewn nobody who wanted to be a polished and respectable somebody. "The Kingston Trio are classified as popular singers," he says at one point. "The Everly Brothers are, too, but if they had been on the scene when we were, you know what the label would have been? HILL-BILLY" (52).

When Delmore took pen in hand, therefore, he may have felt (in the language of his origins) "worse than hell," but he could summon up (in the language of his aspirations) "memories . . . fraught with the fond expectancy of life." The two languages are tied to two self-images, two schemes of value, two ways of structuring reality. Unfortunately, the split was incapable of final resolution in Delmore's life. The tension between the two languages is sign and residue of that irresolvable conflict.

The formulaic patterns within Delmore's own colloquial speech may perhaps also be read metaphorically. As I read his autobiography, his historical destiny was to try to function in a complex, subtle, shifting, multi-dimensional reality armed with a world view that structured reality into a system of stationary opposites which were to be understood in terms of a small stock of ethical absolutes. (I perceive this partially because such a world view was endemic to the social system in which I grew up; reading Delmore brought a "shock of recognition".) Again, language matches world view. One "works for it" or a "schemer" (169), stays to be miserable or leaves to find happiness (125), is accepted or not (110), makes it or doesn't.

The point is not that Delmore was insensitive or unintelligent. On the contrary: there is abundant evidence in his book that his powers of perception were generating data constantly which his culturally determined receptors could not process. A classic case of cognitive dissonance, if you please. "Mother knew best" and "You don't get rich by working. You get rich by scheming." (169).

One may therefore read Delmore's style, it seems to me, as ontological metaphor. Having done that, and having "mined" the pages for raw data, one has more or less exhausted the autobiography's usefulness. For the binary language Delmore learned as a child is adequate to the rendering of categorical moral judgments, but it is not useful for analytical purposes--either during or after the fact. Thus I gather that Delmore's life seemed to him at the time a rather bewildering, iterative sequence of events. And he presents it as such in his Autobiography.

Thus, the world view for which the language is metaphor is not serviceable existentially, and the language itself is not serviceable descriptively or analytically. At least it won't serve in a discursive form such as an autobiography. In a lyric form, however, it is another matter. In the songs Delmore wrote, both of his languages served him well; they functioned as a sort of negative capability. Consider the following passage from the Autobiography:

While Rabon and me were playing around the country, I got acquainted with a girl named Thelma Neely . . . We began to slip around and go together because her parents wouldn't let her have dates. We would meet at church and sometimes I would walk her home. I never will forget those nights when the moon was shining brightly and we could walk in the beautiful silence of the countryside. She lived about two miles from the church and it was a big thrill to get to be with her and

walk down the dirt road with all the night sounds, the whipporwill singing, the katydids chirping and the frogs making their usual contribution to modify the night. Also the sweet smell of the wild flowers in the soft night breezes, especially the honeysuckles. (24).

Readers even minimally familiar with the Delmores are likely to hear this passage to a tune:

Oh, the stars and the silver moon are shining,
All around is the sweetness of the spring.
But I'm sad, and in loneliness I'm pining,
When it's time for the whipporwills to sing.

For a brief lyric statement such as this, the Victorian language works; the images form a coherent system, the diction is homogeneous, and the tone is controlled.

Similarly:

Hard luck papa standin' in the rain,
If the world was corn he couldn't buy grain.
Lord, Lord, got them Brown's Ferry blues.

Again it is a wholly successful literary creation, born of the diction, images, and rhythms one would hear along the road to Brown's Ferry.

It is conceivable that a careful analysis of the language of Alton Delmore's songs would reveal two large categories of songs, corresponding to the two languages that are in such excruciating tension in the Autobiography. Each language, I suspect, would prove to function successfully within the range of subjects and themes assigned to it by the aesthetic convention of which it is a defined part.

Finally, then, Delmore's "lastingly worthwhile" contribution is his music. That he devalued that music somewhat in comparison with the book he felt compelled to write reflects the differential value assigned to the two literary forms in the culture he aspired to enter. The symmetry is striking: the culture he came from devalued the writing of books and valued the music; the culture he moved toward did the opposite. The Autobiography is a record of his attempt to deal with the latter hierarchy of values "the way country boys do when they are full of anxiety."

Both of the problems I have commented upon rather sketchily and disconnectedly--the biases of conventional historiography and the culturally revealing metaphoric significance of tension in language--must eventually be explored much more fully in many other contexts. That exploration is essential if we are to comprehend the many as yet relatively uncharted levels of our cultural history. If Delmore's Autobiography is less than satisfactory according to the standards one would normally apply to the form, it is nevertheless a complex and revealing cultural document which may be read at many levels. It reminds us that creativity is one of the more fortuitously welcome products of anxiety.

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55 YEARS OF RECORDED COUNTRY/WESTERN MUSIC, by Jerry Osborne. Edited by Bruce Hamilton (Phoenix: O'Sullivan Woodside & Co., 1976); xii + 164 pp., 8 1/2 x 11", papercovers; \$6.95.

We are approaching a crisis of junk. The rage to collect--once confined to sensible objects such as barbed wire, butterflies, and commemorative spoons--is rapidly getting out of hand as collectors scavenge antique, thrift, and junk shops for automobile license plates, telephone wire insulators, bottle caps, and fruit crate labels. Antiques, once denoting relics over 100 years of age, have been redefined to include practically everything no longer actually in production; nostalgia's ever-widening reach sweeps in items scarcely a dozen years old. Record "oldies" are now as recent as five years of age. If I were a garbage collector I would be immensely worried about my future security: will there be any garbage ten years from now? I foresee the day rapidly approaching when everything once considered trash that can't be flushed down the toilet or shredded in the garbage disposal will be sorted out, catalogued, evaluated, and sold in a swap meet, a garage sale, a mail auction, a specialty store, or even by Sotheby-Parke. Accompanying this national disease is a spate of "official" publications offering definitive guides to the evaluation of all of this junk: encyclopedias of collectibles, price guides, handbooks--the book shelves groan under their weight. What use, what value, are such price guides? How are the values arrived at? I imagine

the first of such compendia was American Book Prices--Current, published annually since 1918 by the American Booksellers' Association. In this publication there was no pretense of placing an absolute value on a book, rather, the figures compiled represented actual prices paid in auctions (the first volume listed prices back to 1895). There is little indication, in most cases, that the current plethora of price guides to collectibles/antiques represent actual prices paid.

The volume at hand under review is a good case in point. The introductory material offers no clues to the methods used for arriving at the prices--though we are forewarned that "...prices very widely with records of a value of \$100.00 or more" (Editor's preface). The implication is strongly made that these are dealer's prices. But how many dealers stock 1920s discs by Ernest Thompson or Uncle Dave Macon? I would guess that today 90% of all sales (not transactions) involving 78 rpm c/w or hillbilly discs take place through mail auctions, not in dealers' stores. Now admittedly auction bids often reflect the idiosyncratic whims of the most fanatical collectors. Nevertheless they are indisputably real numbers, telling us what someone was willing to pay for a particular disc. And, if nothing else, they surely influence what collectors will bid (and therefore pay) the next time the record in question appears on an auction list.

55 Years of Recorded Country/Western Music consists primarily of 161 pages or record listings divided into three parts. The first (pp 5-63) lists 78 rpm discs. The entries are alphabetical by artist, and numerical by label and release number within each artist division. For each disc three prices are given: "good," "very good," and "near mint." The price ratio for the three grades is invariably 1:2:3. The second section (through p. 129) is devoted to 45 rpm records, listing alphabetically by artist and alphabetically by title for each artist. There are two grades: "good" and "near mint," in the price ratio of 1:2. The third section (to p. 161), titled "Future Gold," lists alphabetically by artist and then title records that the authors suspect will become of value one day. According to the cover blurb, over 20,000 records are listed. In addition, the book includes a list of some 1300 deals and collectors of such records; an interview with Gene Autry, short articles on scarcity, demand, and grading records; a glossary of terms, and some other miscellaneous information.

Since the principal feature of this book is the record prices, it is appropriate to dwell on some examples. I will confine my remarks to the 78 rpm section, because there I have some independent data to compare with. The highest priced record in this section is the Jimmie Rodgers picture record (Victor 18-6000), listed for \$750 in "near mint" condition. (Since the ratio between the three price grades is constant, I will cite only the "near mint" price in all my comments.) This seems a little high for a record of which a dozen copies or so are known to exist. But the fact that the price is not outlandishly high is an indication of the extent to which prices in hillbilly records have risen in the past decade. And, rumor has it that a copy on auction not long ago brought in a bid of over \$400--which the seller declined. 15 years ago, \$3 was sufficient to win a near-mint copy of Eck Robertson's "Sallie Gooden" (Victor 18956), the first hillbilly disc issued. Today, it might sell for as much as \$20. And the rising prices (at least for top condition 78s) seem to be little affected by the increasing amount of material that is being reissued on LPs. I hasten to add that prices in other music fields are also rapidly getting out of hand. (In the Vol. X, No. 1 issue of the ARSC Journal, Michael Biel comments at length on the absurd prices being offered for records; he cites a successful bid of \$3866 for a copy of "Stormy Weather" by the Five Sharps (Jubilee 5104) last year; it was the only known copy in existence. I might note that this was not the highest price paid for a record that I know of; a few years ago a copy of King Oliver's "Zulu's Ball" (Gennett 5275)--one of about three known--turned up on the west coast; a New York collector paid \$1500 for it and promptly sold it for \$4000; the record soon appeared on an LP reissue.) The next highest bid for a hillbilly 78 that I know of is \$300 paid for a copy of Frank Blevins' "Sally Ann" (Columbia 15765-D); this also was several years ago; and recently about \$250 was paid for the only known copy of the Blue Ridge Mountaineers' "Old Flannigan/Old Voile" (Gennett 6870). (Neither Blevins nor the Blue Ridge Mountaineers is listed in the Osborne book.)

The principal criticism that can be applied broadly to many of the prices quoted is that in many cases the authors give the same price for an entire string of records by a given artist on a given label. For example, all the Champion 78s listed by Gene Autry are priced at \$45 (near mint); the Clarions and Deccas, are all \$37.50; the Velvet-Tones are all \$30. The Columbia 37000s are all \$3.00, except for a few of the late ones. The Conquerors vary from \$45 to \$12, in generally monotonically decreasing fashion. The flat price to a series is especially evident for the older records: Darby & Tarlton on Columbia are all \$15; Uncle Dave Macon on Vocalion, either \$45 or \$52.50; on Brunswick, all \$45; on Bluebird, all \$37.50. Obviously such a pricing policy indicates a shortage of data, and signals a serious flaw in the author's approach. The prices quoted seem often to be too high by a considerable amount, but not invariably. Thus, the \$22.50 quoted for all the Carter Family Bluebirds seems too high by \$7-10 in most cases, as is the flat \$30 for the Fiddlin' John Carson Bluebirds and the \$15 for all the Wilf Carter Canadian Bluebirds. All the Victor recordings by Vernon Dalhart--including the million selling "Prisoner's Song"/"Wreck of the Old 97" (Vi 19427)--are listed for \$7.50, which seems too high by a factor of 2 or 3. [In general Dalhart

records still go for \$3-\$4 or less-notwithstanding the recent bid of \$62 for a Dalhart on Gennett (followed by a second-highest bid of \$40)! On the other hand, the \$4.50 and \$7.50 prices for the Allen Brothers Columbias and Vocalions are probably too low by a factor of 4 to 7. And while all three Macon OKeh discs are listed for \$45, in fact one sold on auction about eight years ago for over \$200.

An examination of the pricing on the Charlie Poole & his North Carolina Ramblers 78s on Columbia reveals another problem: the earliest (and most common ones) are priced at \$30, while the prices decline steadily to \$15 for the last in the series. The principle on which the author is relying is that the older records are the rarest and therefore the most valuable. But this overlooks the fact that all the record series of the 1920s cut production as they entered the Depression; hence the latest records in the Columbia 15000-D or the OKeh 45000 or the Brunswick 500 series are all considerably scarcer than the early ones. In the case of the Charlie Poole discs, \$15 would be a reasonable bid for the early releases, while the later ones could easily bring \$60 or more. On the other hand, the declining prices for the Delmore Brothers' Bluebird discs--from \$22.50 for the earliest to \$12 for the last--are reasonable, because as the country climbed out of the depression in the late 1930s, record sales picked up, so the later Bluebirds sold considerably better than the early ones.

While price guides such as this will have little effect on the well-informed veteran collectors, they can significantly perturb the market in the other cases. They do, after all, tend to become "bibles" by the novice collectors--or even by non-specialist dealers. Years ago, collector-dealer Will Roy Hearne, who used to canvass the south looking for unsold dealers' stock of blues, jazz, or hillbilly records, came upon a large collection of several thousand mint records sitting on the shelves of a warehouse. Accustomed to picking up such collections for 5¢-10¢ a piece, Hearne asked the owner what he wanted for them. The dealer reached under the counter for a copy of Hearne's own publication, *Hollywood Premium Record Guide*--a publication that listed values of records that were considered quite high by almost everyone else at the time--and began to quote the prices of \$5-\$10 for the records in his stock. Hearne stopped him with, "Hell, I know the fellow who wrote that book, and every bit of it's nonsense." But he didn't get the records. It might be said that such guides even do the record collecting fraternity in general a disservice, since they give non-collector owners who might otherwise part readily with their junk a false notion of the value of what they have, leading them to hold onto it waiting for the high offers that are never forthcoming. On the other hand, one could argue that the converse would work to the collectors' advantage to the loss of the prospective sellers. But the errors are almost always on the side of over-evaluation; after all, the whole theme of the collectors' syndrome is the great value in the collection.

-- Norm Cohen

BUDDY HOLLY, HIS LIFE AND MUSIC, by John Goldrosen (Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Press, 1976), 243 pp., \$9.95 hardcover, \$3.95 paperback.

Connie Mack Stadium was packed. Which isn't saying much. West Palm Beach in the late 50's wasn't exactly a mecca for baseball fans and the park is small. But on February 23, 1958, most of the city's teenaged population turned out en masse to watch the stars of another national pastime: Rock and Roll Music. I was eleven.

It seems incredible to me now just how much talent performed on that makeshift stage over the pitcher's mound: The Royal Teens (soon to be forgotten for their classic, "Short Shorts"), The Everly Brothers, Buddy Holly and the Crickets, Jerry Lee Lewis, and Bill Haley and the Comets. The History of Rock and Roll for a \$1.00 seat in the bleachers. Simply incredible.

A year later most of the performers were on the downswing in popularity. The Royal Teens were still playing "Short Shorts." Don and Phil weren't cranking out number one hits anymore. Jerry Lee Lewis had been railroaded off the airwaves. And Buddy Holly was dead; the victim of an Iowa plane crash and already a legend at age 22.

"Legend" is a heavy handle to hang on anybody. But Buddy Holly seems to be bearing up pretty well under the weight. Even today, nineteen years after his death, Buddy Holly's recordings are remarkably fresh--artistically, technically, and emotionally. He was, as ex-manager Norman Petty put it, a "diamond in the rough;" a true innovator who used a West Texas nasal hiccup and a Fender Stratocaster to create some of the most exciting (and bizarre) rock and roll music ever recorded.

Outside of an intense cult following, Buddy Holly remains a shadowy musical figure. Everybody remembers his "Peggy Sue" but few know much about the man himself. It took Harvard historian John Goldrosen two years and 20,000 miles to cut through the shroud of myth and sainthood that surrounded Holly so many years. The result is a fascinating book entitled simple Buddy Holly, His Life and Music.

In a highly readable narrative, Goldrosen traces Holly's life and musical roots from childhood in Lubbock, Texas, through his early professional attempts at recording, his association with producer/manager Norman Petty and subsequent huge popular success.

The book is obviously a labor of love. Goldrosen interviewed everybody connected with Holly's life and career--family, friends, sidemen, producers, promoters. For all the years that have passed, their memories of Holly are still clear and pointed.

Buddy Holly was not the shy, retiring type as he has often been described. He had a strong personality, was supremely confident in his abilities (sometimes to the point of arrogance) and was nobody's fool when it came to taking care of business.

Goldrosen recounts the Holly/Petty legal entanglements in some detail, and I won't comment on it here. Of greater interest to me was their musical relationship. Something magical happened in Petty's Clovis, New Mexico studio; complex melodies and rhythms, gut-level rockabilly, Hammond organ schmaltz, novel recording techniques--all mixed together to create the Buddy Holly "sound." While the book covers Holly's recording activities, it doesn't go into near enough detail on the recording process itself. We get glimpses (that pulsating sound on "Peggy Sue" was created by placing a small mike between the strings and body of Joe Mauldin's acoustic bass), but never the full story. In fairness to Goldrosen, Norman Petty did not keep recording ledger sheets and other studio documents for each session. What's more, examining those 30-odd tracks recorded at NorVaJak Studios could easily fill two books. Nevertheless, it is precisely that music--recorded between February, 1957 and September, 1958--that represents the very essence of Buddy Holly's contribution to popular music.

From a biographical standpoint, however, the book is important. And timely. Columbia Pictures has just released "The Buddy Holly Story," an ersatz Glenn Miller/A Star Is Born epic that's sure to fuel the cult and further distort the facts of Holly's career and personality. Fortunately, Goldrosen's book was researched and written before the Hollywood hoopla began. It's the real story, folks--the backbreaking tours, the financial wheeling and dealing, Holly's courtship and marriage, the breakup of the Crickets, the last tour. What's more, it gives us a multi-sided insight to Holly's personality. "Holly presented different sides of himself to different people," says Goldrosen, "and never revealed himself totally to anyone."

According to drummer Jerry Allison, success had a sobering effect on Buddy Holly. The jocularty of their early tours gave way to a serious, "we're here for business" attitude. No longer the naive Texas rockabilly, Holly was intent on establishing himself as a hitmaker. (Indeed, less than a year after "Peggy Sue" left the charts Holly was recording pop ballads with members of the NBC Orchestra and New York Philharmonic.)

This seriousness, this drive to succeed, has always been evident in Holly's music, especially his lyrics. Goldrosen comments: "Music was more than just a career to Buddy Holly: it was his way of proving his worth." A boyhood friend once speculated that it was Buddy's parents (and ultimately his fundamentalist Baptist upbringing) that shaped his approach to music. "Buddy was never really convinced that his parents cared about what he was doing; he felt he had to prove himself to them, over and over. And I guess that's the way he was about a lot of things. He could be confident, even arrogant; but really, he was so determined to be successful because he was so afraid of failing. He wanted to be liked--it wasn't just a matter of making a lot of money. And so every record had to be a hit, and when he had one, he had to try for another and prove himself again. He could never be sure. Funny how his songs are like that, too."

Buddy Holly had a lighter side, of course. Through the years I've spoken with a number of people who knew Buddy personally and who were impressed with his kindness, his loyalty, his fairness. They remember, too, his enthusiasm and wry sense of humor.

(Mrs. Holley once told me of visiting Buddy's hotel room in Albuquerque, New Mexico and finding Paul Anka using one of the beds as a trampoline. It seems Buddy had bet the 14 year-old Anka that he could not touch the ceiling with his head; a safe bet since Anka was all of five foot tall.)

You'll find lots of great Buddy Holly anecdotes in this book--the Dallas motorcycle spending spree, the touring pranks, Holly getting his expensive dental caps knocked out minutes before an

important performance, and lots of other funny and very human stories. You'll also find an exhaustive discography, including recording dates and studio personnel.

Buddy Holly would've liked this book. Written by a fan with a historian's objectivity, it's warm, enlightening and filled with admiration. There's not a trace of maudlin sentimentality or morbid curiosity.

I recall a Saturday afternoon in Boston a couple of years ago when John Goldrosen and I sat in my office discussing the book. I asked why, after 18 years, anyone would want to read a book about Buddy Holly. Instead of answering, John reached over to my Sony and put on an undubbed tape of Buddy Holly songs. They were just fragments, really; ideas for songs that Holly had recorded in his New York apartment two weeks before his death. When the tape was finished, we both knew the answer.

-- Bill Bush
St. Petersburg, Florida

SINFUL TUNES AND SPIRITUALS: Black Folk Music to the Civil War, by Dena J. Epstein (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977). xix + 433 pp., appendices, bibliography, index, illustrations; \$17.95.

Of native American folk music prior to the 1880s we know very little. In the area of Anglo-American music our knowledge is relatively strong only in regard to texts. But far less has been written about the music *per se*, or, more importantly, about the styles, both instrumental and vocal. What has been written has necessarily been conjectured on the basis of early 20th century descriptions, what we know about British folk music, and interpolations between the two. Of Afro-American music our knowledge is decidedly scantier. Even the role of the banjo, perhaps the most characteristic Afro-American instrument through the nineteenth century, has, until recently, been the subject of debate. (Was the 5th string added by whites or blacks?) Children of the Age of Electronic Media may find it difficult to imagine how anything can be said about the music of a period before there were phonographs, radios, and films; yet there were many chances for literate and literary whites to see and hear blacks singing and dancing, and even to write down their observations in letters, diaries, newspaper articles, and other ephemeral publications, not to mention musical periodicals, books, novels, etc. Living in a transitional period--too late for any individual to scan all the pertinent holdings of the nation's libraries, yet too early to call on computerized searches to facilitate the study, we have been kept ignorant of what the contents of such documents could tell us about folk culture in this country prior to the advent of recording equipment.

But wait! One dedicated soul, interested in tracing the history of black folk music in America from its earliest appearance to the Civil War, has determinedly spent over two decades scouring books, periodicals, diaries, etc., to see what the record held. This overwhelming compendium of information is the fruit of her dedicated labor.

A Prologue, titled "The African Heritage and the Middle Passage," opens the study with what information the author could find on the music of the black slaves prior to their arrival in the new world. The main portion of the text is then divided into three parts: (1) Development of Black Folk music to 1800; (2) Secular and Sacred Black Folk Music, 1800-1867; and (3) The Emergence of Black Folk Music during the Civil War. Part One covers the earliest reports of African music in British and French America, including descriptions of dances (La Calinda) and instruments (banza, drums, balafo); the role of music in daily life, and the acculturation of African music in the New World as the slaves themselves were converted to Christianity and introduced to European culture. In Part Two Epstein gathers what descriptions she can on dancing and instrumental music, work-songs, secular black folk music and religious black folk music. In Part Three she covers intensively reports of black folk music during the Civil War, giving an extended discussion of the first book length publication of black folk songs, *Slave Songs of the United States*, and its editors, Allen, Ware, and Garrison. Appendices offer (1) *Musical Excerpts From the Manuscript Diaries of William Francis Allen*; (2) a Table of Sources for the Banjo, Chronologically Arranged, and (3) *Earliest Published Versions of "Go Down, Moses."*

The book is not light reading, and the casual reader may find the succession of quote after quote as tedious as illuminating. It is rather as a source book that Epstein's study should be evaluated: an invaluable collection of otherwise virtually unobtainable descriptions and discussions of black folk music in an emerging American nation. Which is not to suggest that Epstein has done no more than search, select, and reprint; her narrative thread provides essential continuity and historical perspective as well as commentary on the writers whose works are being cited. But I hope it will

not be taken amiss if I forecast that the greatest use of the book will be by scholars who wish to take advantage of Epstein's discoveries and use them as springboards for their own further researches.

-- Norm Cohen

THE BROADSIDE BALLAD: A Study In Origins and Meaning, by Leslie Shepard (Hatboro, Pa. : Legacy Books, 1978). 205 pp., illustrations, bibliography, index; \$9.95, cloth; \$4.95, paper covers.

Since its first publication in 1962, Leslie Shepard's engagingly written and richly illustrated survey of the history of the broadside ballad has become a standard reference to a fascinating subject. In the intervening years, his study has been joined on the bookshelf by such more technical (and musicologically oriented) studies as Claude Simpson's The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music (1966) and Shepard's own further studies--John Pitts, Ballad Printer of Seven Dials (1970), and The History of Street Literature (1973)--not to mention the several fine collections of facsimile reproductions that have become available. Nevertheless, The Broadside Ballad was a first rate general introduction to the subject, and unavailability for many years has been regrettable. Now, it has been reprinted jointly in this country by Legacy Books and in England by EP Publishers. The text is unaltered from the original edition, and as such presents, in five chapters, the origin and development of the broadside form, the history of the ballad, and then the history and development of the broadside ballad per se. Unlike the many antiquarians who have delved into the subject of broadside balladry, Shepard is acutely aware of the vigor of the broadside ballad tradition in the present, and devotes his final chapter of text to survivals and revivals. One of the book's chief virtues is the more than 60 pages of facsimile reproductions of broadsides from the 1680s to the 1950s.

The new edition has been augmented by a new author's introduction, and an additional bibliography and discography. One peculiarity of the original edition was the diffuse nature of both the bibliography and the discography, the latter attempting to span all of oral tradition (irrespective of language) in a brief 4 pages. The additional references are somewhat more focused; yet I should think that a much better listing of Anglo-American broadside balladry on record could have been assembled easily without recourse to such items as Child Ballads Traditional in the United States (AAFS L58) and The English and Scottish Popular Ballads (Folkways 3509-3511), which may well blur the distinctions between popular balladry and broadside balladry in the novice reader's mind (though I would certainly be the last to suggest that these are entirely mutually distinct categories).

It is good to have Shepard's study back in print--especially at a price as reminiscent of pre-inflation days as are the broadsides themselves.

-- N. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES

MEMORY LANE: The Golden Age of American Popular Music, 1890-1925, by Max Wilk (NY: Ballantine Books, 1976; reprint of 1973 edn. publ. by Warehouse Publs.). 88 pp., 8.5 x 11", paper covers, \$5.95. A collection of 128 reproductions (in color) of sheet music covers, complete (or partial, in some cases) music to several songs. Introduction by the author. Although this is a nice collection of covers, both the physical layout and the quality of reproduction leave something to be desired. Annotation is at best minimal; in most cases, non-existent.

"Formulaic Lines and Stanzas in the Country Blues," by John Barnie, in Ethnomusicology, 22:3 (Sept. 1978), pp. 457-473, examines Milman Parry's definition of a formula in oral poetry, "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea," and finds that when applied to the blues it must be modified to take into account both metrical and verbal variation. Several common formulaic lines are examined, and eight blues songs are transcribed that illustrate the author's ideas.

"Bradley Kincaid: Still the 'Kentucky Mountain Boy' at 81," by Jay Taylor, in Kentucky Folklore Record, 24:1 (Jan.-Mar. 1978), pp. 10-14, offers a brief biography, based partly on a recent interview by the author and partly on previously published sources. The same issue includes "John Henry," by Mary Lou Mulcahy (pp. 6-9), in which the author reports results of a survey taken in November 1977 among students at Jessamine County High School, Nicholasville, Ky., asking for information about John Henry and the songs about him.

RECORD REVIEWS

GEORGIA FIDDLE BANDS, VOL. 2 (County 544). 14 selections reissued from commercial hill-billy string-band recordings made in 1927-34: Lowe Stokes & Riley Puckett: Sally Johnson; Cofer Brothers: Rock That Cradle Lucy; Fiddlin' John Carson: Cotton Eyed Joe; Clayton McMichen & Riley Puckett: Slim Gal, Cindy; Earl Johnson's Clodhoppers: I've Got a Gal on Sourwood Mountain, Johnnie Get Your Gun; Hershal Brown's Washboard Band: Liberty; Hometown Boys: Raccoon on a Rail, Hometown Rag; Georgia Yellow Hammers: White Lightning, Georgia Organ Grinders: Georgia Man; Walburn & Hethcox: Walburn Stomp; Skillet Kickers: Cotton Patch. Back jacket liner notes by Gene Wiggins.

Whether North Georgia actually had an unusually rich musical folk tradition or whether it was just particularly well represented on commercial recordings of the 1920s is hard to say. Unfortunately, we have no great collection of field recordings to parallel the surveys of Frank C. Brown in North Carolina, or Arthur K. Davis in Virginia, for comparison. This collection, County's second of Georgia fiddle bands, includes some of the most popular and influential North Georgia musicians, such as Clayton McMichen, Gid Tanner, Lowe Stokes, Fiddlin' John Carson, Earl Johnson, and Riley Puckett, but also some outstanding lesser-known performers. Georgia bands almost always featured fiddle lead; banjos were rarely prominent. Guitar backup was influenced by the very idiosyncratic style of Riley Puckett; compare the backup on the Cofer Brothers' selection for evidence of Puckett's stylistic influence. There are some fine moments on this collection: the Stokes-Puckett duel on "Sally Johnson," though previously reissued, is one of the great pieces from the period, and thoroughly deserves to be readily available. Less common but also delightful are the old-timey "White Lightning," the bluesy "Georgia Man," and the previously unissued "Walburn Stomp." The fine liner notes by Gene Wiggins suggest a good deal more research into Georgia stringband music than has been hitherto published.

Gid Tanner and His Skillet Lickers: "THE KICKAPOO MEDICINE SHOW" (Rounder Records 1023). Reissue of 16 selections by hillbilly stringband from North Georgia, originally recorded 1924-34. Selections: Nancy Rollin, The Farmer's Daughter, I Ain't No Better Now, Never Seen the Like Since Gettin' Upstairs, The Arkansas Sheik, You Got to Stop Drinking Shine, You Gotta Quit Kicking My Dawg Around, Cumberland Gap on a Buckin' Mule, Paddy Won't You Drink Some Cider?, Don't You Hear Jerusalem Moan?, Prettiest Little Girl In the County, Kickapoo Medicine Show, Pts 1/2, Rake and Rambling Boy, New Dixie, Mississippi Sawyer. Produced, with 12-page enclosed booklet, by Mark Wilson and Charles Wolfe.

The Skillet Lickers were the first band to be featured on an LP reissue album, nearly twenty years ago. That album, produced by the Folk Song Society of Minnesota and utilizing the original recordings in the large collection of Willard Johnson, exposed many city listeners at the height of the folksong revival to the original stringband sounds of the 1920s for the first time. Unfortunately, the album came to the attention of Columbia Records (the producers had taken pains to identify all original master and release numbers), who sent the Minneapolis group a cease-and-desist letter, and the album was removed from the marketplace. It is particularly unfortunately that that album has not been available because it offered, to my mind, the best all-round selection of the many musical styles that this celebrated group of Atlanta-based musicians purveyed. Since that lamented album's demise several other LPs devoted to the musician associates of Gid Tanner, Riley Puckett, and Clayton McMichen has been issued, but none demonstrated the breadth of styles that made that musical aggregation so remarkable. This latest selection from the more than 700 sides originally recorded by gang is perhaps the best single-album cross-section of their work now available (though its predecessor, Rounder 1005 was also commendable), exhibiting the full Skillet Lickers' string band sound, fiddle-guitar duets by McMichen and Puckett, solos by Gid Tanner, a traditional ballad by Puckett (accompanied by the McMichen-Layne String Orchestra), and one of the best two-part skits that the group recorded and was renowned for, "The Kickapoo Medicine Show" (incidentally, an interesting and candid document of a fascinating bit of now-nearly-forgotten Americana). (Still very poorly represented on LP reissues are the jazz and pop efforts of the various McMichen aggregations that did not include Tanner and Puckett.) Four of the tracks were previously issued on LPs that have since gone out-of-print, and two tracks ("Prettiest Little Girl," "Rake and Rambling Boy") were never issued commercially in any form, so this collection should surely please the collectors as well as the novices. The brochure includes a three-page biographical sketch by Wolfe that offers valuable information on the various musicians and their musical milieu; the song notes

include complete recording data, text transcriptions, and headnotes. The producers might have included, especially for the benefit of novices, bibliographical and discographical references to related materials, but otherwise this package is up to their usual high standard of album production. The brochure and jacket are illustrated with several fine photographs and old advertisements; however, I find the irrelevant cuts distracting and cluttering.

Clayton McMichen: THE TRADITIONAL YEARS (Davis Unlimited DU 33032). Reissue of 14 commercial old-time stringband recordings originally recorded 1926-39. Selections: McMichen's Reel, Fiddlin' Medley, Sweet Bunch of Daisies, McMichen's Breakdown, My Carolina Home, Fly Around My Pretty Little Miss, Devil's Dream/Rickett's Hornpipe/Fisher's Hornpipe, Hog Trough Reel, Honolulu Moon, Wild Cat Rag, Georgia Wildcat Breakdown, Yum Yum Blues, Soldier's Joy/Arkansas Traveler, Mississippi Sawyer, Fire on the Mountain/Ida Red/Sally Gooden. Produced by Steve Davis, Charles Wolfe, and Bill Harrison; back jacket liner notes by Charles Wolfe.

Although Clayton McMichen's fine fiddling is heard on almost all of the sides by the Skillet Lickers (and therefore is well represented on the previous album, as well as on the Georgia fiddle sampler reviewed first), this album is of interest for offering a sampling that includes some of the later bands, which have not been featured on LP at all. For example, the three 3-tune medleys on this album are from Mac's 1939 Decca session and exemplify some of his finest traditional hoedown fiddling, with minimal accompaniment. (Decca's files indicate that personnel at this session included Slim Bryant, guitar; Raymond Bryant, bass; Jerry Wallace, banjo; and Kenny Newton and Clayton McMichen, fiddles, but on most sides only banjo or banjo and guitar accompaniment are audible.) These recordings must have been quite successful, inasmuch as Decca re-released them in a 78 rpm album ten years after they were recorded, and then, two years later, in 1951, issued them again on 45 rpm discs. They were still available well into the 1960s. The three sweet tunes by McMichen's Melody Men from 1926-29 ("Sweet Bunch of Daisies," "My Carolina Home," and "Honolulu Moon") illustrate what Mac wanted to record while Frank Walker leaned on the Skillet Lickers to stick to the traditional old fashioned tunes at which they excelled, while four selections by the newly formed Georgia Wildcats in 1931-32 ("Hog Trough Reel," "Wild Cat Rag," "Georgia Wildcat Breakdown," and "Yum Yum Blues") illustrate to some extent the direction in which Mac headed after the split-up of the Skillet Lickers.

FIDDLING DOC ROBERTS: 1927-1933 (Davis Unlimited DU 33015). Reissue of 14 fiddle tunes originally recorded commercially between 1927 and 1933. Selections: Brick Yard Joe, New Money, Billy in the Lowground, Farewell Waltz, Did You Ever See the Devil Uncle Joe?, Cumberland Blues, Black Eyed Susie, Old Buzzard, Sally Ann, I Don't Love Nobody, Run Smoke Run, Wednesday Night Waltz, Cripple Creek, Waynesboro. Back jacket liner notes by Ivan M. Tribe; produced by Steve Davis and Bill Harrison.

Fiddlin' Doc Roberts of Madison County, Kentucky, was, fortunately, one of the most recorded old time fiddlers of the 1920s and 1930s. An excellent fiddler with a wide-ranging repertory, Roberts' smooth long-bow style was remarkably bluesy for its time (there were in fact several black fiddlers in that region of Kentucky from whom Roberts learned some of his tunes, but they do not seem to account for his graceful, fluid bowing style). This album offers a few of the more unusual tunes in Roberts' repertory, such as "Brickyard Joe," "New Money," and the swinging "Cumberland Blues," but also shows that even on familiar titles, such as "Billy in the Lowground," Roberts' arrangements were often unusual. The two-guitar backup of James Roberts and Asa Martin, with their fancy chords and flat-pick runs, combined with Roberts' smooth style to make a highly distinctive stringband sound that must have seemed "far out" to listeners in the Depression years; even today they have not lost their charm. Unfortunately this collection is marred by technical problems: poor quality 78s have been used in some cases, and the LP mastering occasionally leaves something to be desired, with distortion, drop-outs, and some speed variation. A complete discography of Roberts and his musical associates appeared in several issues of JEMFQ several years ago, and JEMF is currently preparing an LP reissue to appear in 1979.

Eck Robertson, MASTER FIDDLER (Sonyatone Records STR-201). Reissue of all of the commercial recordings made by Texas fiddler Eck Robertson between 1922 and 1929. Titles: Arkansas Traveler, Turkey in the Straw, Sallie Gooden, Ragtime Annie, Sallie Johnson/Billy in the Low Ground, Done Gone, Texas Wagoner, There's a Brown Skin Girl Down the Road Somewhere, Amarillo Waltz, Brown Kelley Waltz, Pts 1/2, Great Big Taters in Sandyland, Run Boy Run, Brilliant Medley, The Island Unknown, Pts 1/2, Radio Theme Song. A 12-page booklet by Peter Feldmann includes bio-discography and texts to songs.

Surely all JEMFQ readers know that Alexander Campbell Robertson, Arkansas-born but Texas-raised, was the fiddler who started it all--on records, at least. His brilliant solos and duets (with

Henry Gilliland) made in the summer of 1922 before a baffled crew at Victor Talking Machine Company's Camden offices were, to our knowledge, the first commercial recordings by a traditional old time fiddler, and they still rank as some of the finest ever recorded by anyone at any time. This album reissues, in chronological order, all of his issued commercial recordings and, for extra measure, a 1965 recording of a song that Eck composed and used on his radio programs to solicit mail from listeners. Only 6 of Robertson's 16 issued commercial sides have appeared previously on LP, and of those two are now out-of-print; hence this complete collection will be a welcome addition to the record library of anyone with a serious interest in old time fiddling. Feldmann's brochure includes a 4-page biography, notes on the songs and tunes, a text transcription of the three selections with words, a complete Robertson discography, and a bibliography listing interviews, articles, and books that refer to Robertson.

-- N.C.

* * * * *

(Continued from p. 208)

currently popular songs in a band which also featured a tenor banjo, guitar, and sometimes piano or accordion. It appears from oral sources that singing was a minor part of the repertoire although this observation is open to speculation. It is clear that Belcher was part of the dance-calling tradition marked by the prevalence of shouting calls in the nineteenth century, and which still persists to the present. Unfortunately, the Delaware County Historical Association has no photos of Belcher although they may presumably exist. There is still speculation that the identity of the anonymous folk painting published in my previous JEMFQ arti-

cle on country music in central New York State may be indeed Alva Belcher.

This reconstruction of Alva Belcher's life is admittedly sketchy but I present it to highlight the continuity present in the country music tradition of central New York State, and to suggest the existence of other examples in other regional areas. While researchers are hindered in their antecedent studies of country music by an absence of recorded evidence and a paucity of pictorial documentation, it is my hope that by pursuing historic resources currently available we can identify country music in its inchoate form and thereby fill lacunas in our scholarship.

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2. Simon Bronner, "Country Music Culture in Central New York State," p. 175.
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8. Delaware Gazette, 26 July 1871.

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FRIENDS OF JEMF STAGE SUCCESSFUL BENEFIT PROGRAM

On Sunday afternoon, 29 October 1978, a benefit for the JEMF was staged at the Montie Montana Rodeo Ranch in Aqua Dulce, just north of Los Angeles. A large crowd of nearly 15,000 gathered to be entertained by many of the greats of C&W music, headlined by Roy Rogers, Rex Allen, and Stuart Hamblen. Festivities began with several entertaining horse acts, led by Elly and Montie Montana, featuring trick roping and riding, and horse exhibitions.

The affair was a great financial success, due in part to the unprecedented amount of publicity given by Radio Station KLAC. Our special thanks go to Bill Ward, Vice President of Metromedia and an Advisor to the JEMF, for his hard work. It is hoped that this type of outdoor program will become a regular annual event.

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